

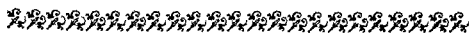


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G G Coulton and Eileen Power

The Trial of
Jeanne d'Arc





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The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc

Edited by W P Barrett

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JUANNI S. MARTYRDON

A miniature from the *Miss Vigilles* of Charles VII 1484 in the Bibliothèque Nationale

The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc



A complete translation of the text of the original documents
with an introduction by
W P BARRETT

Published by
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS LTD
BROADWAY HOUSE CARTER LANE LONDON
1931

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd , Frome and London

FOR MY MOTHER

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INTRODUCTION

Apart altogether from the intense interest which the chief figure universally arouses, the trial of Jeanne d Arc is in many respects remarkable, and if an excuse for the first unabridged English translation were needed, it might easily be found in the fact that of a long series of great ecclesiastical law cases it is at once the first and the most complete. There are not wanting, of course, serious studies of the Inquisition, of trials for witchcraft, or of Jeanne (to which I am indebted), that reproduce the most critical and moving passages of her trial, yet, so far as the text of the trial itself is concerned, they are naturally incomplete, and English readers have had to depend on a good translation by Mr T Douglas Murray, first published in 1902, and now out of print. It is, however, considerably abridged where no warning is given, and suffers in addition from a particular defect which it has been the care of this present edition to avoid. In the effort to restore the dramatic quality of the first occasion, the translator permitted himself to make slight alterations in the form of the definitive version, and substituted for its legal indirectness the more vigorous form of *oratio recta*. This is a dangerous expedient the apparent gain is more than offset by the loss in authenticity. Monsieur Champion describes the account as we have it as first and foremost the judges apology to posterity. This apologetic side disappears if the even feeling and tenor of the document is interfered with, so that we lose the flavour of artificial eloquence and laborious regularity which go to hide an uncertain conviction in a poor case. Even where the survival of the original French minute con-

fers a sort of licence for more direct question and answer, I have repressed my inclinations to follow it, and no doubt at first sight the reading is made less inviting, but at least the document is presented in its final form unaltered, so that a reader may from this translation reach his own conclusions on the conduct of the trial, which after twenty-five years was denounced as "full of cozenage, inconsequence, iniquity, and manifest error both in fact and in law." As the accusations in this respect are inclined to exaggeration, the extent of the irregularity must be cautiously decided.

Several conditions make judgment difficult. In the first place, it is essential to understand the nature of the charges preferred against her, and the composition of the court which judged her. She was tried under a system which is now universally held to be barbaric and unjust, but which was in her time, and for that matter, for centuries afterward, in full operation in every ecclesiastical court. The case against her was not officially formulated so that she knew from the beginning of what crimes she was accused. She was arrested on suspicion, and throughout a Preparatory Process, as it was called (lasting from January 9th, the day of the first meeting of Pierre Cauchon with his assistants, until Palm Sunday, March 25th), it was the business of the court to devise a convincing case against her. This was built up as her interrogation proceeded, by a court not averse from accepting as evidence stories from her native village of innocent rustic dances and games. The judges must not be blamed for this abuse of justice: it had in every sense the authority of canon law. In fact, the distinguishing feature of the trial is the immense weight of authority behind it.

Jeanne was captured in the territory and jurisdiction of Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais. In the trial he was assisted by the collaboration of the Inquisition, in the person of Jean Le Maître, who, with an ill and reluctant humour, agreed to participate only after an

especial commission from the Grand Inquisitor of France instructed him to do so. But more important still, Cauchon had the support of the supreme intellectual authority and spiritual light of the University of Paris, especially in its eminent representatives Beaupère, Midi and Courcelles, who were among the assessors.

The case against her was weak. The protraction of the trial, from January until near the end of May, when all parties, the University, the Church, and the English, were anxious for her conviction, is proof enough of that. But at this time the machinery of the Inquisition was at the height of its perfection: every security of justice was removed, and no person in the situation in which Jeanne found herself, accused of witchcraft and heresy in a hostile ecclesiastical court, had the faintest chance of a fair trial. By the time the preparation of the articles of accusation was complete, Jeanne had been in prison, heavily ironed, for nine months. This, in itself enough to weaken her spirit, was the least of her sufferings. Before she was first led to her judges she demanded permission to hear Mass, and the right to have among her assessors ecclesiastics of her own party equal in number to the representatives of the English, but both requests were denied. She was continually refused the solace of religion, and through harsh treatment in prison grew seriously ill. The account gives little idea of the tempestuous nature of the trial. A session would last anywhere from three to four hours, during which she was subjected to the continual and agonizing strain of a pitiless and unfriendly cross-examination. Many of the questions were purposely confusing, designed with cunning ambiguity to entrap her, however she answered. "Do you know you are in a state of grace? or Was St Michael naked?" At times the judges all spoke at once in passion or anger, so that she protested, "Good my lords, speak to me one at a time." Toward the end of the proceedings she was threatened with torture, every night three

soldiers slept in her cell, though she needed little watching, since her legs were doubly fettered. It is not strange that she grew feverish, so ill that she asked for woman's dress in case she should die. Her captors saw to it that she did not, for by a natural death she would have evaded their plans, which required a public execution for political ends, for the English had announced that if she were acquitted they would nevertheless contrive to destroy her by other means. She was bled, her strength in part returned, but it appears she was still open to attacks on her modesty, and in court Jean d'Estivet the Promoter went so far as to accuse her of being herself responsible for her sickness. "Harlot, it is your own fault. You have eaten herring and other things which have made you ill." During Holy Week she who had always had a passion for bells, who would drop on her knees in the fields when their ringing floated to her ears, heard them, but was not allowed to answer their invitation, whilst it is probable that the only confessor she had was a spy.

In the face of every hardship her courage held. Good humour, innocence, patience, and sanity never deserted her, but they were not enough to save her, because the partisanship of the judges, and the system under which they administered the law, were both unfavourable. In accordance with custom evidence was admitted against her which she was not allowed to see, and with the miserable exception of Catherine de La Rochelle she did not even know the names of those who testified. She was entirely without aid, her party scarcely lifted a finger to save her, and she was unable to call witnesses in support of her case. Not that they could have helped her effectively, they would merely have exposed themselves to the charge of abetting a heretic, for the inquisitorial system aimed at conviction, whether by harassing the body or breaking the will of the accused. During the course of the proceedings over one hundred assessors appeared. Strictly speaking, only two judges

were necessary, the Ordinary (Crauchon) and the Inquisitor (Le Maître), but in proportion to the importance of the case other learned counsellors, doctors and prelates were summoned to give advice. The assessors were never all present at one sitting, they were presumed capable of judging without having followed the case through every phase.

After about a month the Preparatory Process came to an end, and was followed by the second part of the trial, the Ordinary Process, so called because it was according to habitual inquisitorial procedure. Out of the mass of answers and defamatory report the case of the Prosecutor had taken its fixed shape, and the crimes of heresy and sorcery were to be fastened upon her. Seventy articles of accusation, drawn up with meticulous and niggling accuracy, were read to Jeanne and she was required to answer them. They were so full of minute and confusing distinctions that, 'as she was not learned enough nor sufficiently instructed in letters for such arduous matters', the judges offered to let her choose a counsellor from among the assessors. She thanked them, but refused their offer, and answered, 'I have no intention of departing from the counsel of Our Lord'. In this main section of the trial Jeanne was confronted with conclusions adroitly and unfurly extracted not only from her own declarations, but from statements imputed to her by unmentioned informers, and if in connexion with any or part of them she refused to answer after the expiration of a delay of three short days, the article was held to be confessed.

The next stage was the preparation of an epitome of this elaborate indictment, which, in the form of twelve propositions ostensibly extracted from her evidence, was submitted to twenty-two doctors or bachelors of theology in Rouen. The judges in the Rehabilitation, acting as a sort of court of review, decided that the digest was false and unjust, and so made what is perhaps the gravest specific charge of formal injustice

which can be levelled against the tribunal. Jeanne was accused of adoring her revelations, of contradictions in her allegory of the sign given to her king, of contumacy in believing her saints to be good, and of pretending to prophetic gifts. They threw doubt on her chastity, pointed to her abominable male dress (in which she had even received the sacrament), to her claim to come from God and her use of the motto *JHESUS MARIA*, her disobedience towards her saints (who did not speak English), and her insistence that she knew she had been forgiven. Finally, they dwelt upon her refusal to submit to the Church.

Beyond doubt the last was her greatest error. It was dependent, of course, on her belief in the authenticity of her visions, which she was bound to uphold, for they were not like Sociates' voices, bringers of purely negative counsel, but the inspiration of her mission and success. To her judges they were apparitions of the devil, to Beaupère they were not unreasonably the result of excessive fasting, later theorists have put them down to any number of nervous or psychical derangements, but we must remember that in her time such revelations were not rare. *Qui n'en avait au moyen âge ?* They were, in fact, everyday occurrences, and as such the Church recognized and respected them, for to the mediaeval mind the spiritual world was easily translated into the material. In spite of her refusal to submit, there is no warrant for the opinion that she was an early Protestant. In matters of faith she willingly accepted the authority of the Church, she was only concerned with the validity of her deepest personal experiences, with her freedom to judge of fact, and not of faith.

The doctors of Rouen, loath to condemn the Maid entirely, produced in the end a decision unfavourable to her, but voted that she should be tenderly exhorted to submit, and that the judgment of the University of Paris should be invoked. Accordingly, on April 18th Cauchon, Midi, and others visited her cell, for she was

seriously ill. In their charity they held out to the ignorant and suffering girl the instruction of learned priests who would point out her error, and lead her feet to the right path, for 'the Church never closes her bosom to the wanderer who would return.' She courteously refused their offer, and knowing herself to be near death, asked if she should die in prison for the last sacrament and a burial in holy ground. They admonished her again a fortnight later, this time publicly, but still no more effectively. On May 3rd St Gabriel appeared to her, and she asked her voices if she ought to submit to the Church, and heard them reply that if she wished for God's help she must wait upon Him in all her doings. Her obduracy shocked and offended the judges, and on May 9th they led her to the torture chamber, where the executioners stood by their instruments, and told her to confess the absolute truth or expect the cruel persuasion of the rack. Torture was spared her, however, by eleven votes to three, and she lay fettered in her cell until the decisions of the University of Paris were brought to Rouen. At this time the University not only possessed supreme authority in law and theology, it was under English domination, and had from the beginning exhorted Cluchon to remove this scandal to the faith and permit the trial to be held in Paris. To a great extent it had supplanted the Inquisition as investigator of doctrine or judge of heresy, and on these questions claimed sovereign right of decision. An incident to illustrate its English sympathies occurred in December of the year of the Maid's death, on the occasion of Henry VI's state entry into Paris, when the orator appointed to represent the University was Nicholas Midi, one of the Maid's judges. He greeted the infant king as the "father, patron, guardian and sole refuge of the University, his first-born daughter, who in his absence was as an orphan or widow." Moreover, not the University only but the town of Paris was hostile to Jeanne, for when she

prepared her assault its citizens had been in mortal fear that their houses would be sacked and their city devastated by the Maid's soldiers. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the verdict from Paris was altogether adverse. Jeanne's visions were declared to be either pernicious fictions or Belial, Satan and Behemoth. She herself was blasphemous, apostate, schismatic, idolatrous. She must once more be charitably admonished and in the event of further contumacy be handed over to the secular arm for due punishment. On May 23rd Pierre Mauice, formerly rector of the University, and a great orator, read to her the twelve articles now directly addressed to her, and begged her to submit to the Church. With great comprehension he appealed to her honour and loyalty: "Jeanne, dearest friend, it is now time, near the end of your trial, to think well of the things which have been said. . . . If your king had appointed you to defend a fortress, and forbidden you to let anyone enter, would you not keep out any who professed to come in his name but did not present letters or some other proof? So, Our Lord Jesus, when He ascended into Heaven, committed to Peter and his successors the government of His Church, forbidding them to receive those who claimed to come in His name but showed no other evidence than words." The next day was set for the public ceremony of the abjuration. Dressed as a man, she was driven in a cart to the cemetery of St Ouen, where a great hustings was built, from which, when she was taken upon it, she could see the pile ready to be lit, an eager crowd pressing to see her, and seated on a platform opposite the judges and prelates. The preacher, Erard, took as his text "The branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine". He denounced her as a heretic, and, for being assisted by her to the throne, he declared Charles heretical also. "He is the noblest of all Christians," Jeanne cried out. She was silenced, and he proceeded to admonish her for the third and last time, but she refused

to recant. At length Cauchon began in a slow voice to pronounce the long sentence of death. Suddenly Jeanne cried out that she would submit to the Church, the judge paused in his reading, the excited crowd shouted and threw stones, and there was instant confusion, on the platform as well as among the spectators. Meanwhile Massieu unfolded a short paper of five or six lines, no longer than the Lord's Prayer, and read it to Jeanne, but she did not seem to understand. "If you don't sign at once", said Erard, "you will be burned." Jeanne replied that she would rather sign than be burned, so Massieu immediately read over the formula of abjuration, which the Maid repeated after him, and put her cross to it, for she could not read or write, but Massieu, not content with that, guided her hand to write *Jehanne*, and as she did this a smile passed over her face.

A problem arises at this point. The abjuration contained in the official proceedings could not possibly be the confession she signed, it is much too long. The fact has led to wild suggestions, but it is probable that what she signed was in substance very similar, perhaps even a summary of this official recantation. When the abjuration had been made, Cauchon read the mitigated sentence, mercifully reconciling Jeanne to the Holy Church, and condemning her to work out her penitence "in perpetual imprisonment, there to eat the bread of sorrow and drink the water of affliction, to weep over past things, and hereafter to do nothing that need be wept for." At this she exclaimed, "Here you Churchmen, take me back to your prison, and out of the hands of the English," but against their word they took her back to the same wretched cell and gaolers, this time without the protection of male dress. The judges were glad to obtain her confession, for although it was not requisite for her conviction, it supplied them with a welcome and positive proof of the justice of the prosecution. It made no difference that she afterwards revoked the confession, notwithstanding subsequent

denials the Inquisition had a conveniently illogical way of looking upon abjurations as the final truth.

In four days she had relapsed, and when the judges visited her they saw her once more in man's dress, and her face stained with tears. Her courage had returned, she said she had not understood what she had confessed, and would rather die than pass her life in prison. On May 30th she was told that her death would take place that day. When Ladvenu and the kind Ysambard de La Pierre told her of this, she wept. "Alas, am I to be so terribly and cruelly treated?" Alas that my entire and uncorrupted body should to-day be consumed and burned to ashes! I would seven times rather have my head cut off than be burned." When Cauchon entered the prison she roundly accused him. He began to remonstrate, saying, "Ah, Jeanne, bear it in patience. You must die because you have not kept your promise, but have gone back to your original fault." The poor Maid answered, "Alas, if you had delivered me into the hands of the Church courts and competent and proper ecclesiastical guards, this would not have happened. Therefore I appeal from you to God." She was allowed to receive the sacrament and Ladvenu heard her in confession. "Do you believe this to be the body of Christ?" asked Martin. "Yes, and it alone is able to deliver me." She turned to Maurice. "Master Pierre, where shall I be this evening?" "Have you not faith in the Lord?" he asked. "Yes, and by God's grace I shall be in Paradise."

Then she was led, in her woman's dress, to the marketplace, where there were three scaffolds, one for her, one for the judges, and one for the execution. A high paper crown was put on her head with the inscription *Heretic Relapsed Apostate Idolator*, and Midi began to preach a sermon to her, on the text "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it". Jeanne listened, and heard Cauchon pronounce the sentence, this time making no interruption, but weeping bitterly. She begged all the priests around to say a Mass for her soul.

Many of the bystanders wept, but among them were some English captains who were tired of waiting and hungry, and who shouted ' Priests, do you intend to keep us here for dinner ? '

The Bailiff of Rouen waved his hand and she was taken to the stake She asked for a cross, and an Englishman made her one from two pieces of wood, and gave it to her , then she was given at her request a cross from the Church of St Sauveur, which she held as she was being bound to the stake, murmuring, as a spectator reported, ' Ah, Rouen, I sorely fear you must suffer for my death '

The faggots were lit, and as the flames enveloped her she repeatedly uttered the name Jesus, which many watchers afterwards declared they had seen written in the flames that consumed her When the clothes were burned off and it was seen from the drooping of the figure that she was quite dead, the flames were swept aside from her charred body to show the people that she was indeed a woman The executioner was then instructed to reduce it to ashes, so that no part should escape, but ' notwithstanding the oil, sulphur, and charcoal which he applied to the bowels and heart, he was in no way able to burn them, at which he was most astonished, as an evident miracle ' Her unconsumed heart was therefore thrown into the Seine

After her death the judges and assessors seem to have been disturbed in their minds They produced further evidence, based on what they alleged to be statements made by Jeanne in prison, which Manchon and the notaries refused to sign The addition of this unsigned evidence at the end of the official account supports Monsieur Champion's contention that quite as much as the Maid's trial the document is the effort of the judges towards self-justification, for there is little doubt that they suspected themselves to be in the wrong Each party attempted to share the responsibility with another, as the doctors of Rouen turned for confirmation to the

University. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that Ysambard de La Pierre came nearest the truth when in the Rehabilitation he declared that though the judges observed the legal forms, the sentence against Jeanne was due rather to vindictiveness than zeal for justice. Once she was caught in the net of her adversaries there was no way out for her. Everything was hostile. The English required not only her death but her immediate and public obloquy. It was a political necessity; they had to destroy the notion that God and her saints were working against them, and the charges of sorcery and witchcraft were in their eyes important principally as means to that end. If these failed they had other plans, as Henry's letter to Cauchon shows "C'est nostre entencion de ravoir et reprendre pardevers nous icelle Jehanne, se ainsi estoit qu'elle ne fust convaincue ou actainte des cas dessusdiz."

The charges themselves, which began early in Jeanne's career, are not surprising if we recall the astonishing alteration in affairs due solely to her appearance. Even at the time of her assault on Paris the University authorities were preoccupied with a treatise which was directed against her *Of good and evil spirits*, whilst in the same month from Abbeville it was declared that "none should lend credence to her, and those who did so were mad and tainted with heresy." Towards the end of the fifteenth century the belief in witchcraft reached its zenith, and though Jeanne's trial took place almost sixty years before the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* there is strong evidence that infatuation on the subject of sorcery was already widespread. At any rate, it was sufficient to poison the minds of the Maid's judges, for once the suspicion of witchcraft was entertained there was nothing they could not misinterpret to her disadvantage. A witch's first step is the denial of God, hence their concern with the oaths alleged to have been uttered by the Maid. They inclined to construe the simple rural dances round the great beech into the

infernal practice of the Witches' Sabbath Every action of the Maid s which they could credibly transform into a devilry they did the finding of the lost cup and gloves, the exposure of an immoral priest, the discovery of the sword of St Catherine, the magical restoration of a child to life, the letter to the Comte d'Armagnac concerning the Pope, even the catching of butterflies in her standard, for that an insect should serve as a witch's familiar is natural and proper " It was worse than useless for a prisoner accused of witchcraft to claim as Jeanne did that she was visited by saints or revelations, since the commonest of the Devil's wiles was the imitation of Jesus or His saints

Witchcraft, moreover, was intimately allied to heresy Apart from the idolatry of the Witches' Sabbath, a doctrine dating from the professed discovery by the Inquisition in the fourteenth century of a new heretical sect of devil-worshipping witches, there was the common notion behind it of an unholy compact with Satan As Lea points out in the *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, with the development of the laws of heresy and of special tribunals for the application of them, it was soon perceived that the charge of heresy was a peculiarly easy and effective method of attacking a political enemy No accusation was easier to bring, none so difficult to disprove In fact, granted the procedure of the Inquisition, there was none in which acquittal was so absolutely impossible where the tribunal was desirous of condemnation The English, realizing this, were the more ready to provide the enormous ransom for Jeanne's purchase from the Burgundians, to pay Cauchon 765 livres for his expenses in the negotiation of it, and in addition to defray the cost of the entire proceedings at Rouen Having gone so far they expected everything to proceed smoothly, and in view of their aim the choice of Cauchon was admirable, for the selection of the tribunal was left to him He was not only an ambitious and skilful prelate, he had especial private reasons for

hostility to Jeanne, since it was the returning loyalty of the people under the stimulus of her success that had been responsible for driving him from his diocese a year before. There can be no doubt of his violent partisanship. A single deposition goes to his credit, that after the first sermon at St. Ouen when Jeanne was admonished to recant and was seen to hesitate, Cauchon turned on an English ecclesiastic who accused him of favouring her with the words, "You lie. It is my duty and profession to seek the salvation of her soul and body." Against this solitary compassionate scene must be set many harsh and prejudiced incidents. An assessor who stopped the proceedings to inform Jeanne that she was not compelled to answer a particular question, was angrily interrupted, and when another counselled her on the subject of submission to the Church, he exclaimed, "Hold your tongue, in the devil's name."

Jeanne herself was inclined to divide the responsibility for her conviction between the English and Cauchon. She hated and feared the first, "would rather die than fall into their hands", but she repeatedly accused the Bishop to his face, "You take too much upon yourself", and "Bishop, I die through you". Even worse, according to Ysambard de La Pierre's deposition, she complained that he would not permit the notaries to write down anything in her favour, but only that which was against her, and when he asked her if she would submit to the Church, she retorted, "What is the Church?" So far as it is you, I will not submit to you, because you are my deadly enemy." It is well to remember this in apportioning the blame. Andrew Lang is very emphatic on the point, perhaps excessively so. "The first persons to take practical steps toward burning the Maid were the French doctors and priests, lights of the Gallican Church; French priests and lawyers tried her, with infamous injustice; the unnamed witnesses against her were the French; French priests and lawyers condemned her, and handed her over to a French

executioner, and all these things they did with zest, and would have done, had there been no English concerned, had the quarrel been solely between Armagnacs and Franco-Burgundians. Moreover, the odious English tradition about the Maid was based on the French authorities.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the historical interest of the trial is subsidiary, its main virtue comes from the light it sheds on Jeanne, and in this it is unique. The best proof is to attempt for a moment to imagine how much poorer we should be in our knowledge of the Maid had the documents of her trial not been preserved. Without them there would be little hope of separating the marvellous facts of her career from the subsequent legendary accretions. As it is, no life of her can excel for truth or dramatic interest the bare skeleton of her long cross-examination. Even the evidence of the Rehabilitation, colourful and picturesque and sympathetic, is not so near the spirit of Jeanne as this, for there, though she is seen in favourable and intimate reminiscence, it is indirectly, here she is the centre of vision, the daughter of God bravely conducting her last campaign. Nothing is more eloquent of her courage, sanity, and faith than the fact that although the final version of her trial was drawn up by her enemies, our admiration for those qualities is not lessened by reading it, but increased. It is as if we saw the unconsumed heart which the fire and sulphur could not destroy, the residue of immortality which official distortion and envy could not affect. Her conduct and demeanour throughout the trial were magnificent. Speaking with some experience of courts of law, and with some acquaintance with the literature of trials, said Sir John Macdonell, 'I know nothing in history comparable to her bearing under pressure and strain which would have broken the most heroic. It is not Bruno or Servetus or Galileo or Campanella who stands out beyond all others in the long history of martyrs under legal process. It is this village

maiden." Manchon the notary testified in 1456 that her answers were so wise and simple that it was difficult to believe she was not inspired. "When she spoke of matters of state and war", said another observer, "she seemed moved by the Holy Spirit." Unhappily it is probable that her straightforward honesty was a deciding factor in her conviction. If only she had been less uncompromising, had not stood up to her examiner so boldly, she would not have been so easily caught. "You see how they proceed," said Lohier, a famous Norman clerk, "they will get her if they can by her words, by the statements where she says *I trust for certain* when speaking of the revelations. If she said *I think* instead of *I know for certain*, I do not believe any man could condemn her." Lohier, with Nicolas de Houppesville, had from the beginning proclaimed the trial invalid, so his opinion is of especial interest. But such caution was not Jeanne's way. She did nothing to make her replies to the two-edged casuistical interrogations more acceptable to the assessors, and seemed as unconscious as a child of the enormity of her pretensions. Although Beaupère spoke of her as "very subtle, with a woman's subtlety", it is probable that he was really ascribing to subtlety what was actually no more than innocence supported by downright commonsense, a sufficiently unfamiliar combination for his error to be excused. For that reason the skilful evasion of a pitfall in "If I am, may God so keep me, if I am not, may God guide me there", must be recognized as less characteristic of Jeanne than "All the light comes not to you" or the sane insistence that "The dress is only a trifle". To make such a statement to her judges when she stood before them in the black page's suit, blasphemously maintaining that God commanded her to wear it, was presumptuous in the extreme. If she had set out to do so she could hardly have chosen a more effective method of antagonizing the assessors. She did not stop at that: she refused to take the prescribed oath,

to repeat the Lord's Prayer at their request, and in fact, increased the suspicions and hostility of her judges at every point. The tragedy was that her conduct was never intentionally arrogant or presumptuous. On the contrary, to the end of her life she kept that childish modesty of which her younger friend Haumette gave so touching an illustration. 'She was a good girl, simple and gentle, and blushed when we told her she was too devout and went to Church too often. The scenes which the following pages describe offer little opportunity of revealing that side of the Maid's character: the drama they treat of is of sterner stuff, and there is some danger that the immensity of the forces which she moved into action may blind us to her youth and inexperience. Even where the examination turns upon the happier days of Jeanne's career, on pastoral or triumphant military scenes, there is no possibility of forgetting the issue involved. We know too well that the end of the story is full of horror, mitigated a little by its antiquity, to some extent by the knowledge that the Maid's mission was successful and that her prophecies came true, but most of all by the astonishing courage and nobility with which she faced her martyrdom.

The official text of the trial was drawn up some time after Jeanne's death, not earlier, it is certain, than 1435, by Thomas de Courcelles, who, with the aid of Guillaume Manchon, translated into Latin the original French examinations, and completed the Proceedings by the insertion of the necessary letters. Considerable publicity was given to their work, five copies were made, of which the Inquisitor, the King of England, and Cauchon, each received one. Evidently the French minute of Jeanne's answers, written down each day as the trial proceeded, would have a unique value. A small fragment of it only is preserved, in the MS. d'Urfé, but although this record does not begin until the twelfth session, it is especially interesting as it preserves the

flavour of Jeanne's crisp country speech, which has almost entirely evaporated in the Latin. However we regret its disappearance, we must be content with the fact that the version we possess is in the main faithful if not flawless. A complete edition of it and of the Rehabilitation was first published in 1841 by Jules Quicherat, but the trial itself was again edited in 1920 by P. Champion, the greatest of all Jeanne d'Arc scholars. The basis of this translation is the text established by Quicherat, though M. Champion's emendations in the reading of proper names have been accepted and a few of the headings derive also from his edition.

Finally it is a pleasure to record my gratitude to Miss Eileen Power for her advice, to Mr. T. K. Barrett for aid in some of the concluding pages, and to my wife for her encouragement and revision.

KING'S COLLEGE,
LONDON, 1931



PIERRE CAUCHON BISHOP OF BIAUVAIS
From his tomb formerly in the Cathedral at Lisieux

IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, AMEN

HERE BEGIN THE PROCEEDINGS IN MATTER OF FAITH
AGAINST A DEAD WOMAN, JEANNE, COMMONLY
KNOWN AS THE MAID

To all those who shall see these present letters or public instrument, Pierre, by divine mercy Bishop of Beauvais, and brother Jean Le Maître, of the order of Preaching brothers, deputy in the diocese of Rouen, and especially appointed in this trial to the office of the pious and venerable master Jean Graverent of the same order, renowned doctor of theology, by apostolic authority Inquisitor of the Faith and of Heretical Error in all the kingdom of France greeting in the author and consummator of the faith, Our Lord Jesus Christ

It has pleased divine Providence that a woman of the name of Jeanne, commonly called *The Maid*, should be taken and apprehended by famous warriors within the boundaries and limits of our diocese and jurisdiction. The reputation of this woman had already gone forth into many parts how, wholly forgetful of womanly honesty, and having thrown off the bonds of shame, careless of all the modesty of womankind, she wore with an astonishing and monstrous brazenness, immodest garments belonging to the male sex, how, moreover, her presumptuousness had grown until she was not afraid to perform, to speak, and to disseminate many things contrary to the Catholic faith and hurtful to the articles of the orthodox belief. And by so doing, as well in our diocese as in several other districts of this kingdom, she was said to be guilty of no inconsiderable

offences. These things having come to the knowledge of our mother the University of Paris, and of brother Martin Billouin, vicar-general of the lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error, they immediately summoned the illustrious prince, the Duke of Burgundy and the noble lord Jean de Luxembourg, who at this time held the said woman in their power and authority, in the name of the vicar-general above-mentioned, and under penalty of law, to surrender and despatch to us, as ordinary judge, the woman so defamed and suspected of heresy.

We, the said Bishop, according to our pastoral office, desirous of promoting with all our might the exaltation and increase of the Christian faith, did resolve to institute a proper inquiry into these facts so commonly known, and so far as law and reason should persuade us, to proceed with mature deliberation to such further decisions as were incumbent upon us. We required the said prince and the said lord Jean also, under penalties of law, to surrender for trial the said woman to our spiritual jurisdiction, whilst the very serene and most Christian prince, our lord the King of France and England, summoned them to the same effect. Finally, the most illustrious lord Duke of Burgundy and the lord Jean de Luxembourg graciously consenting to these demands, and solicitous in their catholic souls of the accomplishment of what appeared to them as helpful to the growth of the faith, surrendered and despatched the woman to our lord the King and his commissioners. Thereafter the King in his providence, burning with a desire to succour the orthodox faith, surrendered this woman to us, that we might hold a complete inquiry into her acts and sayings before proceeding further, according to the ecclesiastical laws. When that was done, we requested the distinguished and notable chapter of the church of Rouen, charged with the administration of all spiritual jurisdiction in the vacancy of the archiepiscopal seat, to grant us territory in the town of Rouen

for us to make this inquiry which was graciously and freely given. But before preferring any further charge against this woman we held it wise to consult, with prolonged and mature deliberation, the opinion of experienced authorities in canon and civil law, of which, by God's grace, the number in the town of Rouen was considerable.

January 9th (1431) The First day of the Proceedings

And on Tuesday the ninth day of January in the year of our Lord fourteen hundred and thirty-one, according to the rite and computation of the Church of France, in the fourteenth year of the most Holy Father in Christ Martin V, by divine providence Pope, we the aforesaid bishop, in the house of the King's Counsel, summoned the doctors and masters whose names follow: my lord abbots Gilles of Ste Trinite de Fecamp, doctor of sacred theology, and Nicolas de Jumièges, doctor of canon law, Pierre, prior of Longueville, doctor of theology, Rioul Roussel, treasurer of the Cathedral of Rouen, doctor of both canon and civil law, Nicolas de Venderes, archdeacon of Eu, licentiate in canon law, Robert Le Barbier, licentiate in canon and civil law, Nicolas Coupequesne, bachelor of theology, and Nicolas Loiseleur, master of arts.

Now when these men, as numerous as famous, were gathered together at the same time and place, we demanded of their wisdom the manner and the order to be followed herein, after having shown as related above what diligence had been brought to the matter. The doctors and masters, having reached full knowledge thereof, decided that it was meet first to inquire into the acts and sayings publicly imputed to this woman, and decently deferring to their advice we declared that already certain information had been obtained at our command, and similarly decided to order more to be collected, all of which, at a certain day determined by us, should be presented to the council, that it might

be more clearly informed upon the subsequent procedure necessary in the trial. And, the better and more conveniently to effect and achieve the collection of the information, it was this day decided by the aforesaid lords and masters that there was need of certain especial officers to whom this particular duty should be given. Consequently, at the counsel and deliberation of those present it was decided and decreed by us that the venerable and discreet person master Jean d'Estivet, canon of the cathedral churches of Beauvais and Bayeux, should exercise in the trial the office of Promoter or Procurator General. Master Jean de La Fontaine, master of arts and licentiate of canon law, was ordained councillor, commissary, and examiner. To the office of notaries or secretaries were designated the prudent and honest master Guillaume Colles, also called Boisguillaume, and Guillaume Manchon, priests, notaries by apostolic and imperial authority at the archiepiscopal court of Rouen, and master Jean Massieu, priest, ecclesiastical dean of Rouen, was appointed executor of the commands and convocations emanating from our authority. Further, we have had here inserted and transcribed at their order the tenor of all these letters, secret or public, that the sequence of the said acts might appear with greater lucidity.

And first follows the tenor of the letter from Our Mother the University of Paris, addressed to the most illustrious lord Duke of Burgundy

“Most high and most puissant prince and our much feared and honoured lord, we commend ourselves in all humility to your highness. Notwithstanding, most feared and honoured lord, our recent letter to your highness, beseeching you in all humility that this woman known as *The Maid*, being by God's grace in your subjection, should be transferred into the hands of the justice of the Church that due trial might be made of her idolatries and other matters concerning our holy

faith, and to repair the scandals that have arisen therefrom in our Kingdom, likewise the evils and unnumbered inconveniences which have therefrom resulted nevertheless we have had no reply nor have we learned that any provision has been made to obtain in the affair of this woman a fitting discussion. But we greatly fear lest through the falsity and seduction of the enemy of Hell and through the malice and subtlety of evil persons, your enemies and adversaries, who put their whole might, as it is said, to effect the deliverance of this woman by subtle means, she may in some manner be taken from your subjection (which may God prevent !). For in truth in the judgment of all good informed Catholics, such a great lesion in the holy faith, such an enormous peril, obstacle or hurt to all the estate of this realm, has not occurred within human memory to compare with the escape of this woman by such damned ways without fitting reparation, but it would be in truth greatly to the prejudice of your honour and of the most christian name of the house of France, of which you and your most noble progenitors have been and still are loyal protectors and the most noble principal members. For these reasons, most feared and sovereign lord, we beseech you again in all humility on behalf of Our Saviour's faith, and for the conservation of the Holy Church and the protection of the divine honour, and also for the great benefit of this most christian realm, that it may please your highness to transfer this woman into the hands of the Inquisitor of the Faith, and to despatch her safely thither, as we formerly besought, or to surrender this woman or have her surrendered to the reverend father in God my lord bishop of Beauvais in whose spiritual jurisdiction she was apprehended, that he may try her in matter of faith, as it is reasonable and fitting for him to do to the glory of God, to the exaltation of our said holy faith, and to the profit of the good and loyal Catholics and the estate of this realm, and also to the honour and praise

of your highness, whom may God keep in good prosperity and in the end grant His glory Written. . . ."
[no date]

Then follows the tenor of the letter from our said mother the University of Paris, addressed to the noble and puissant lord Jean de Luxembourg

“Most noble, honoured and puissant lord, we commend ourselves lovingly to your high nobility. Your noble prudence knows well and recognizes that all good Catholic knights should employ their strength and puissance first to the service of God and then to the profit of the state. And most especially the first oath of the order of chivalry is to keep and protect the honour of God, the Catholic faith and His Holy Church. This oath you well remembered when you employed your noble power and personal presence to apprehend this woman who is called *The Maid*, by whom God’s honour has been immeasurably offended, the Catholic faith wounded and the Church much dishonoured, for through her, idolatries, errors, false doctrines and other evils and inestimable hurts have spread through the realm. In truth all loyal Christians must cordially thank you for having rendered so great a service to our holy faith and to all the kingdom; and for our part we thank with our whole heart God and your prowess. But it would be a little thing to have done this if it were not followed by what is necessary to remedy the offence perpetrated by this woman against our sweet Creator, His faith and His Holy Church, with the other numberless misdeeds which have been told. And it would be a greater evil than ever, and a worse error would remain among the people; it would be an intolerable offence against the divine Majesty if it were to come to pass that this woman were set free, lost to us, which certain of our adversaries, it is said, would endeavour to obtain, setting to that end all their knowledge by the most subtle means, and what is worse, attempting it

by silver or ransom. But we hope that God will not permit such a misfortune to visit His people, and that your good and noble providence will not suffer it, but will be able to meet the occasion fittingly, for if her deliverance took place, without appropriate reparation, it would be an irreparable dishonour to your nobility and to everyone concerned. Such a scandal must of necessity cease as soon as possible. And since in this matter delay is most perilous and prejudicial to the realm, on behalf of the divine honour, and for the conservation of the holy Catholic faith, and for the good and exaltation of the whole realm, we most humbly and heartily beseech that it may please your puissant and honoured highness to despatch this woman to the Inquisitor of the faith, who has urgently required and demanded her, in order to weigh the heavy charges which burden her, to the pleasure of God, and the proper edification of the people, according to good and sacred doctrine. Or that it may please you to have her surrendered and delivered to the reverend father in God our most honoured lord bishop of Beauvais who likewise has demanded her, and in whose jurisdiction, as has been said, she was apprehended. The which prelate and Inquisitor are her judges in matter of faith, and every Christian is bound to obey them whatever his estate, in this case, under great legal penalties. And by so doing you gain the grace and love of the high deity, you become the instrument of the exaltation of the holy faith, and so increase the glory of your most high and noble name, with that of the high and most puissant prince our most feared lord and your own, my lord Duke of Burgundy. And everyone will be charged to pray for the prosperity of your most noble person, which may Our Saviour, by His grace, lead and keep in all its doings and in the end reward with an everlasting joy. Written ' [at Paris, July 14th, 1431]

Then follows the tenor of the letter of the Vicar-General of the Inquisitor addressed to the said lord Duke of Burgundy

“To the most high and puissant prince Philippe Duke of Burgundy, count of Flandeis, of Artois, of Burgundy and of Namur, and to all others concerned, brother Martin, master of sacred theology, and Vicar-General of the Inquisitor of the faith in the kingdom of France, greeting in Jesus Christ our true Saviour. Whereas all loyal and christian princes and all other true Catholics are charged with extirpation of errors arising against the faith, as well as scandals resulting therefrom among the private christian folk, and whereas at this time it is reported and commonly said that through a certain woman named Jeanne, whom the adversaries of the kingdom call *The Maid*, at her instance in many cities, good towns and other places of this realm, many and diverse errors have been sown, uttered, published and spread abroad, and still continue to be so, whence many hurts and scandals against the divine honour and against the holy faith have resulted and do result, causing the loss of souls and of many private christians : which cannot and must not be dissimulated nor pass without a fair and appropriate reparation. Now since it so happens that by God’s grace the said Jeanne is at this time in your power and subjection, or in that of your noble and loyal vassals : for these reasons, puissant prince, we most lovingly beseech you and pray your said noble vassals to surrender the said Jeanne, through you or through them, safely and soon , and we hope that you will so do as true defenders of the faith and protectors of God’s honour, and that none shall hinder or delay you (which God prevent). And with the rights of our office and the authority committed to us by the Holy See of Rome, we urgently summon and enjoin for the sake of the Catholic faith and under penalty of law all the above-said and every person of what state, condition, pre-eminence and authority so ever, as soon as possible with safety and fitness to send and bring

captive to us the said Jeanne vehemently suspected of many crimes, and tainted with heresy, that she may appear before us against the Procurator of the Holy Inquisition, and may reply and proceed rightly according to the counsel, favour and aid of the good doctors and masters of the University of Paris, and other notable counsellors therefrom Given at Paris under our seal of office of the Holy Inquisition, the year 1430, the 26th day of May

So signed LEFOURBEUR HÉBERT

Then follows the tenor of the summons presented by us Bishop of Beauvais to the said lords, the Duke of Burgundy and Jean de Luxembourg

' This is the summons of the Bishop of Beauvais to my lord Duke of Burgundy, Jean de Luxembourg and to the Bastard of Windomme, on behalf of the King our sovereign and of himself as Bishop of Beauvais

' Let this woman commonly known as *The Maid*, a prisoner, be sent to the King to be delivered to the Church, that she may be tried, as being suspected of and slandered with having committed many crimes, such as sorceries, idolatries, calling up of evil spirits and many other instances touching and opposed to our faith And although she ought not to be considered as a prisoner of war (as it appears from what is said), nevertheless to reward those who captured and held her, the King is bountifully pleased to grant them up to the sum of 6,000 francs, and to the said bastard, who captured her, will grant and assign a pension for the upkeep of his estate of 200 or 300 pounds

And the said Bishop himself requires the aforesaid each and everyone, since the woman was captured in his diocese and under his spiritual jurisdiction, to deliver her to him that he may fittingly try her This he is ready to undertake with the assistance of the Inquisitor of the faith, and if need be, with the assistance of doctors of theology and of decrees, and other notable persons

versed in judicial matters, as the case requires, in order that it be performed in a mature, holy and due manner to the exaltation of the faith and to the instruction of many who have been deceived and abused through this woman.

“And finally, if in the above manner they do not wish or consent to obey this injunction, and although the taking of this woman is not similar to the capture of a king, of princes and others of high estate (yet if such person were captured, whether king, dauphin or other prince, the King could at his pleasure ransom him by sending to the captor ten thousand francs, according to the law and custom of France), the bishop summons and requires the abovesaid in his name and the King's to deliver *The Maid* to him, giving as surety the above sum of 10,000 francs, for everything whatever. And the said bishop, in his own name and according to the form and penalties of the law, requires her to be given and delivered to him in this manner.”

Then follows the instrument of the summons for the surrender of the Maid

“In the year of our Lord 1430, the 14th day of July, indiction 8, the 13th year of the pontificate of our most Holy Father the Pope Martin V, in the castle of the very illustrious prince my lord Duke of Burgundy, in his camp before Compiègne, in presence of the noble lords Nicolas de Mailly, Bailly of Vermandois and Jean de Pressy, knights, and of many other noble witnesses, in great number, there was presented by the reverend father in God my lord Pierre, by the grace of God bishop and count of Beauvais, to the very illustrious prince my lord Duke of Burgundy, a certain schedule on paper containing word for word the five articles transcribed above. the which my lord Duke gave to the noble Nicolas Rollin, knight, his chancellor, who was present, and commanded him to convey it to the noble and puissant lord Jean de Luxembourg, knight,

lord of Beaurevoir, to whom, when he came, the chancellor gave the schedule, which it appeared to me he read "

So signed ' This was done in my presence, Triquellot, by apostolic authority public notary '

Follows the tenor of the letters of the University of Paris addressed to us, Bishop

" To the reverend father in God and lord bishop and count of Beauvais We observe with amazement, reverend father and lord, the great delay in the surrender of this woman commonly called *The Maid*, which is so prejudicial to the faith and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, especially as she is said to be now in the hands of our lord the King Christian princes in their zeal for the interests of the Church and the orthodox faith are wont, when a rash assault is made upon the dogmas of this same Catholic faith, to surrender the prisoner to the ecclesiastical judges so that they may hold and punish him forthwith, and doubtless if your paternity had lent more active diligence to the pursuit of this matter, the trial of this woman would already be proceeding before an ecclesiastical court It greatly concerns you, since you are so great a prelate of the Church, to abolish the scandals committed in our Christian religion, especially when it is a matter of the judgment of a case which chance has brought into your own diocese Therefore, to protect the Church from the grave injury of a longer delay, will your paternity deign in its zeal to endeavour with extreme diligence to see that this woman is delivered as soon as possible into your power and that of the lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error When you have done this, be so good as to have her safely conducted to this town of Paris, where there are many wise and learned persons, so that the trial may be diligently examined and competently conducted, to the salutary edification of the Christian people and the honour of God may He grant you especial aid in all things, reverend father
Written at Paris in our general assembly solemnly held

at St Mathurin, November 21st, 1431. The rector and the University of Paris.”

Signed: HILBERT.

Follows the tenor of the letter addressed by our mother the University of Paris to our Lord the King of France and England

“To the most excellent prince, the King of France and of England, our most feared lord and father. We have recently heard that the woman called *The Maid* is now delivered into your power, whereat we are extremely joyful, trusting in your good ordinance to deal with this woman according to law in order to atone for the great harm and scandals she has notoriously occasioned in this kingdom, to the great prejudice of the divine honour, our holy faith and all your good people. And because it is particularly our task as it is our profession to extirpate such manifest iniquities, especially when our Catholic faith is involved, we cannot hide the long delay in justice which must displease every good Christian, and your Majesty more than any other because of your great obligations in gratitude for the high honours, goods and dignities God has bestowed upon your excellence. But although we have several times written to you in this connexion, and do so by these presents, we must humbly beseech you, most feared and sovereign lord, with our humble and loyal recommendation, to avoid the reputation of negligence in so favourable and essential a matter, and for the honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ to command that this woman shall be shortly delivered into the hands of the justice of the Church, that is to the reverend father in God our most honoured lord and count of Beauvais and to the Inquisitor of France, whom it particularly concerns to know these misdeeds touching our faith; for then reasonable discussion of the charges imputed to her can be made, and such reparation brought as the case demands in order to protect the holy truth of our faith and remove every false error and scandalous

opinion from the hearts of your good, loyal and Christian subjects. It appears meet to us, if it were your highness's pleasure, to send this woman to this city where her trial could be notably and competently conducted for the discussion would resound further from here than elsewhere if it were led by the masters, doctors, and other notable persons already present, and it is proper for the reparation of the scandals to take place there where her deeds have been published and excessively notorious. By doing this your royal majesty will remain loyal to the sovereign and divine Majesty may He grant your excellency continual prosperity and never-ending felicity. Written at Paris in our general assembly held at St Mathurin, November 21st, 1431. Your most humble and pious daughter, the University of Paris.'

Signed HÉBERT

Here follows the tenor of a royal letter upon the surrender of the said woman to us, bishop of Beauvais

Henry, by the grace of God king of France and England, to all those who shall see these present letters, greeting. It is well known how for some time a woman calling herself Jeanne *the Maid*, putting off the habit and dress of the female sex (which is contrary to divine law, abominable to God, condemned and prohibited by every law), has dressed and armed herself in the state and habit of man, has wrought and occasioned cruel murders, and it is said, to seduce and deceive the simple people, has given them to understand that she was sent from God and that she had knowledge of His divine secrets, with many other dangerous dogmatizations most prejudicial and scandalous to our holy faith. Whilst pursuing these abuses and exercising hostilities against us and our people, she was captured in arms before Compiègne by certain of our loyal subjects and has subsequently been led prisoner towards us. And because she has been reputed, charged and defamed by

many people on the subject of superstitions, false dogmas and other crimes of divine treason, we have been most urgently required by our well beloved and loyal counsellor the bishop of Beauvais, the ecclesiastical and ordinary judge of the said Jeanne, who was taken and apprehended in the boundaries and limits of his diocese, and have similarly been exhorted by our very dear and well loved daughter the University of Paris, to surrender, present and deliver this Jeanne to the said reverend father in God, so that he may question and examine her and proceed against her according to ordinances and dispositions of canon and divine laws, when the proper assembly shall be called together. Therefore, for the respect and honour of God's name, for the protection and exaltation of His Holy Church and Catholic faith, we devoutly desire as true and humble sons of the Church to obey the requests and demands of the said reverend father in God and the exhortations of the doctors and masters of our daughter the University of Paris : and we command and grant, as often as the reverend father shall think fit, that this Jeanne shall be surrendered and delivered by our men and officers in whose hands she now is, so that he may question, examine her, and proceed against her according to God, reason, divine law and the holy canons. Therefore we command our said men and officers who guard this woman to surrender and deliver her to the said reverend father in God without contradiction or refusal, as often as he shall require, and we further command all our men of law, officers and subjects, English or French, not to occasion any hindrance or difficulty in fact or otherwise to the reverend father or any who are or shall be appointed to assist, participate in or hear the said trial, but if they are so required by the said reverend father in God they shall give them protection, aid, defence, guard and comfort, under pain of grave punishment. Nevertheless it is our intention to retake and regain possession of this Jeanne if it comes to pass that

she is not convicted or found guilty of the said crimes, or certain of them concerning or touching our faith In witness whereof we have affixed to these presents our ordinary seal in the absence of the great seal Given at Rouen, January 3rd, in the year of grace 1431, and the ninth of our reign '
Signed ' By the king, in his Chief Council J de Rinel "

Follows the tenor of the letters from the venerable chapter of the Cathedral of Rouen granting us the said bishop territory during the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see

To all those who shall see these present letters, the chapter of the cathedral of Rouen having during the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see administration of all spiritual jurisdiction, greeting in Our Lord On behalf of the reverend father in God and lord, Pierre, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, we have been informed that it is his lawful duty according to his authority as ordinary judge and otherwise, to institute an inquiry against a woman commonly called Jeanne *the Maid*, who abandoning all modesty, has lived a disorderly and shameful life to the scorn of the estate proper to womankind and moreover, as is commonly known, she has sown and disseminated many opinions contrary to the Catholic faith and tending to the denigration of certain articles of the orthodox belief, wherein she appears evil thinking, suspect, and defamed The said bishop had proposed and resolved to institute proceedings against her since she was in his diocese and had therein committed all which was reported of her now it came to pass according to God's pleasure that she was captured, taken and arrested in his diocese and within the limits of his spiritual jurisdiction, but that he had meanwhile been translated elsewhere When this fact came to the knowledge of the said reverend father he of his own authority and by other means required and admonished the illustrious prince the Duke of Burgundy and the noble lord Jean de Luxembourg and the other warders of this

woman to surrender her to him, for it was his lawful and reasonable duty as the ordinary judge to institute inquiries and proceedings against this woman who, suspected of heresy, had committed so many misdemeanours against the Catholic faith, and who, it was said, had been captured, detained and arrested within the territory of his spiritual jurisdiction. These lords and the others who held Jeanne captive, being summoned to this end, both by the most Christian prince Henry our lord and king of France and England, and by our mother the University of Paris, obeyed these requisitions and demands : like faithful Catholics devoted to their faith, they surrendered and delivered this woman to our Lord the king or his commissaries, had her led to the city of Rouen where she was put into safe custody, and now, at the order and with the consent of our lord the king she has been surrendered, given up and delivered to the said reverend father in Christ. For many considerations and reasons, and especially upon careful reflexion of the present circumstances, it has seemed meet to institute proceedings in this city of Rouen, according to the theological and canonical sanctions, and to carry out here the inquiries which appear necessary in this case, and, in a word, to perform all the varied business pertaining to a suit of this kind, with all the consequent details. Certainly our bishop does not mean to put his scythe in our harvest, to act without our consent, hence he has requested us to grant him territory to assist his legal want and to perform all the acts pertaining to his suit. Therefore, approving the demand of the said reverend father, and deeming it both just and in accordance with the interests of the Catholic faith, we have granted, given and assigned him territory, and by the present letter give and assign him territory, both in this city of Rouen, and wherever in the limits of the diocese as shall appear necessary to him for all usages concerning this trial and for the execution, comprehension, decision and termination of

everything pertaining thereto Hence we warn all our subjects, of either sex, living in the town of Rouen and in our diocese, of whatever condition, and hereby enjoin them in virtue of holy obedience, to comply with, obey and lend aid and favour to the said reverend father in all that concerns this suit, and its consequences, by supplying testimony and advice and by other means We allow and grant that every act arising from the inquiry shall receive its full and free effect according to law, as if it had been accomplished in his own diocese of Beauvais, whether it was in fact done by his authority, by his present or future commissioners or deputies or in conjunction with the Inquisitor of Heretical Error, or his present or future deputy, either separately or in conjunction, and shall be executed and concluded We give and grant him, so far as is necessary and God will allow, all authority and power excepting the right of the archiepiscopal dignity of the diocese of Rouen in other matters December 28th, in the year of Our Lord 1430 "

Signed R GUEROULD

Follows the tenor of the letter concerning the Promoter

' To all those who shall see these present letters, Pierre, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, greeting in Our Lord A certain woman commonly called *Jeanne the Maid* has during the course of the present year been taken and captured within the boundaries and limits of our diocese On behalf of the most illustrious prince our lord the king she has been delivered and restored to us her ordinary judge, defamed as she was by common and public report, as scandalous and suspected of many spells, incantations, invocations and conversations with evil spirits and of many other matters concerning the faith, so that we could institute proceedings against her according to the legal form customary in matters of faith And we, desiring to proceed maturely in the said matter of faith, according to the legal form and upon the advice and consultation of a great number of

our counsellors in both canon and civil law who had assembled at our instructions in this city of Rouen (of which the spiritual jurisdiction had formerly been granted us to permit us to execute and decide this matter), we judged it both necessary and fitting to have a Promoter General appointed by us in this trial, with counsellors, notaries or scribes, and an usher to execute the commands and convocations necessary in the course of the trial. Be it known therefore that being desirous of following both this advice and consultation and the legal forms, having full confidence in God and being duly informed of the fidelity, integrity, intelligence, competence and personal ability of the venerable master Jean d'Estivet, priest, canon of the churches of Bayeux and Beauvais, we have constituted, created, ordained and appointed the said Jean and do hereby constitute, create, ordain and appoint him our Promoter or Procurator in everything concerning the general and particular conduct of this trial. And we give the said Promoter or Procurator by these presents licence, faculty and authority to sit and appear in court and extra-judicially against the said Jeanne, to give, send, administer, produce and exhibit articles, examinations, testimonies, letters, instruments and all other forms of proof, to accuse and denounce this Jeanne, to cause and require her to be examined and interrogated, to bring the case to an end, and to exercise all acts known to be proper to the office of Promoter or Procurator, according to law and custom. Therefore, to whom it may concern, we require submission, obedience, counsel and aid towards the said Jean in the exercise of his office. In witness whereof we have affixed our seal to these present letters Given in the house of Jean Rubé, canon of Rouen. January 9th, in the year of Our Lord 1431."

Signed. E. DE ROSIÈRES.

Follows the tenor of the letter concerning the notaries

"To all those who shall see these present letters, Pierre, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, etc. Be it

known therefore that being desirous of following both this advice and consultation and the legal forms, having full confidence in God and being duly informed of the fidelity, integrity, capacity, competence and ability of master Guillaume Colles, otherwise called Boisguillaume, and of master Guillaume Manchon, priests of the diocese of Rouen, apostolic and imperial notaries and sworn notaries of the archiepiscopal court of Rouen, and subject to the consent and approbation of the venerable vicars of the archbishopric of Rouen during the vacancy of the see, we have appointed, elected and named them, and do now appoint, elect and name them notaries or scribes in this suit And we give them licence, faculty and power to have access to the said Jeanne as often as they need to question her or hear her questioned, to receive the oaths of witnesses, to collect the confessions of Jeanne, the sayings of witnesses and the opinions of the doctors and masters, and to report them, word for word, in writing to us, to put in writing all the present and future facts of this case, to set down in writing and draw up the whole proceedings in the proper form, and in short to perform all the tasks of a notary whenever and wherever suitable In witness whereof etc ' [as above]

Follows the letter appointing a counsellor

' To all those who shall see these present letters, Pierre, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, etc Be it known that desirous of following both this advice and consultation and the legal forms, having full confidence in Our Lord and being duly informed of the fidelity, integrity, competence and ability of the venerable and prudent master Jean de La Fontaine, master of arts, licentiate in decrees, we have made, ordained, charged, appointed and retained the said master Jean in the quality of counsellor and examiner of the witnesses to be produced in the trial by our promoter and we give and grant the said master Jean licence, faculty and

authority to receive the said witnesses, to put them on oath and examine them, to absolve them conditionally, to draw up and cause to be drawn up in writing their depositions, and to perform everything pertaining to the office of one duly appointed counsellor, commissary and examiner, everything we should ourselves do if we were acting in his place In witness whereof we have affixed our seal to these present letters Given in the house of Jean Rubé, canon of Rouen. January 9th, in the year of Our Lord 1431."

Signed· E. DE ROSILÈRES.

Follows the tenor of letters appointing the executor of our mandates

"To all those who shall see these present letters, Pierre, etc. Be it known that desirous of following both this advice and consultation and the legal forms, having full confidence in Our Lord and being duly informed of the fidelity, competence and prompt diligence of the discreet master Jean Massieu, priest, dean of the Christendom of Rouen, we have appointed, retained and ordained him executor of the mandates and convocations emanating from us in this trial: we have granted him licence and by these present letters grant him all licence of that office In witness whereof we have affixed our seal to these present letters Given in the house of Jean Rubé, canon of Rouen, 9th January in the year of Our Lord 1431"

Signed: E DE ROSILÈRES.

January 13th, 1431 Reading of the evidence against Jeanne

On the following Saturday, January 13th, we the said bishop assembled in our dwelling at Rouen the following lords and masters · Gilles, abbot of Ste. Trinité de Fécamp, doctor of theology; Nicolas de Venderès, licentiate in canon law, William Haiton and Nicolas Coupequesne, bachelors of theology, Jean de

La Fontaine, licentiate in canon law and Nicolas Loiseleur, canon of the cathedral of Rouen. In their presence we set forth all that had been accomplished in the previous session, and requested their advice upon the subsequent procedure in the case. In addition we read to them certain evidence collected both in the district where this woman was born and elsewhere, and also certain memoranda prepared upon particular points indicated earlier in the said evidence or referring to common report. When all this had been seen and heard the lords and masters decided that certain articles should be duly prepared so that the matter might appear in greater distinctness and better order, and they could more certainly decide whether there was sufficient matter for the institution of a summons and trial in matters of faith. Therefore in accordance with their advice we resolved to proceed to the preparation of such articles, and we appointed to this effect certain notable persons of especial learning in canon and civil law to assist the said notaries. And they, diligently complying with our command, proceeded to draw up the said articles on the following Sunday, Monday and Tuesday.

January 23rd, 1431 Decision concerning the preparatory information

On Tuesday, January 23rd, the following lords and masters appeared in our dwelling: master Gilles, abbot of Fécamp, Nicolas de Venderès, William Huiton, Nicolas Couppequesne, Jean de La Fontaine and Nicolas Loiseleur. In their presence the articles which had been drawn up were read, and we requested their most prudent counsel upon the articles and upon the subsequent procedure. They informed us that the articles were drawn up and prepared in a good and competent form, that it was fitting to proceed to the interrogations corresponding to these articles and declared that we the said bishop could and should proceed to draw up the preparatory information upon the acts and sayings of

the prisoner. Following this advice we resolved and commanded that this preparatory information should be prepared, but since we were otherwise engaged we appointed the venerable and discreet master Jean de La Fontaine, licentiate in canon law, to conduct this inquiry.

February 13th, 1431. The officers appointed etc etc

On the morning of Tuesday, February 13th of the same year there appeared before us in our dwelling the following lords and masters : Gilles, abbot of Fécamp, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, doctors ; Nicolas de Venderès and Jean de La Fontaine, licentiate in canon law, William Haiton, Nicolas Couppequeune, Thomas de Courcelles, bachelors of theology ; and Nicolas Loreleur, canon of the cathedral of Rouen. We summoned the officers already appointed and ordained by us in this suit, namely master Jean d'Estivet, the promoter ; Guillaume Boisguillaume and Guillaume Manchon, notaries ; master Jean Massieu, executor of our convocations and commands. We required them to take oath to fulfil their offices faithfully, and in obedience to our request they swore between our hands to fulfil and exercise them faithfully.

February 14th, 15th, and 16th, 1431. The preparatory information is drawn up

On the Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday following, the said Jean de La Fontaine with the assistance of the two notaries proceeded to draw up the preparatory information which we had commanded.

February 19th, 1431. Decision to summon the Inquisitor

On Monday, February 19th, 1431, the following lords and masters appeared before us in our dwelling at eight o'clock in the morning. Gilles, abbot of Fécamp, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, doctors of theology ;

Nicolas de Venderes, Jean de La Fontaine, licentiates in canon law, William Haiton, Nicolas Couppequesne, Thomas de Courcelles, bachelors of theology, and Nicolas Loiseur, canon of the cathedral of Rouen. We the said bishop informed them that we had commanded a preparatory inquiry into certain articles concerning the words and deeds of this woman whom, as we had formerly said, our lord the king had surrendered and entrusted to us, to discover if there were sufficient cause to proceed against her and summon her in matters of faith. In their presence we read the articles and depositions contained in this preparatory evidence. When this had been read they were fully considered by the lords and masters in a long and mature consultation. Finally at their counsel and advice we concluded that we possessed sufficient evidence to proceed against this woman and summon her in matters of faith, and we decreed that she should be cited and summoned to reply to certain interrogations to be addressed to her. Moreover for the more convenient and salutary conduct of the matter, and in our respect for the apostolic holy see which has especially appointed lord Inquisitors of Heretical Error to correct the evils which arise against the orthodox faith, we resolved at the advice of our experienced counsellors to invite and summon the lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error for the kingdom of France to collaborate with us in this trial if it were according to his pleasure and interest. Since however the said lord Inquisitor was then absent from the city of Rouen, we commanded that his deputy, who was present in Rouen, should be summoned and called in his stead.

The afternoon of the same day The Vicar of the Lord Inquisitor is summoned

The same Monday, at four in the afternoon, we were visited in our house by the venerable and discreet master Jean Le Maître of the order of Preaching brothers,

Vicar of the lord Inquisitor of the kingdom of France and appointed by him to the city and diocese of Rouen. We summoned and required the said vicar to join with us so that we might proceed in conjunction in the said matter, and we offered to acquaint him with everything which had been or should in future be done therein. Whereupon the said vicar answered that he was prepared to show us his commission or letters of appointment given him by the lord Inquisitor and according to the tenor thereof he would gladly perform all that he was in duty bound to do on behalf of the holy inquisition. Yet, since he was especially appointed for the diocese and city of Rouen only, he doubted whether his commission could be interpreted to include the present trial, although the territory had been ceded to us, because we had nevertheless undertaken these proceedings in virtue of our jurisdiction in the diocese of Beauvais. We answered that he should return to us on the next day when we should have taken counsel upon the matter.

Tuesday, February 20th, 1431. The Vicar of the lord Inquisitor refuses to act

On the following Tuesday, February 20th, there appeared before us in our dwelling brother Jean Le Maître, vicar of the lord Inquisitor; master Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Nicolas de Venderès, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, Thomas de Courcelles, Nicolas Loiseleur, canon of the cathedral of Rouen, and brother Martin Ladvenu, of the order of Preaching brothers. In their presence we reported that we had seen the commission or letter of appointment given to the said brother Jean Le Maître by the lord Inquisitor, and that it was the opinion of the learned authorities to whom we had shown this letter that the said vicar could in virtue of this commission collaborate with us, that this commission included this city and the entire diocese of Rouen, and that he could conduct the present trial conjointly with us. But nevertheless to

avoid the nullification of the trial we had resolved to address a summons or requisition in the form of letters patent to the lord Inquisitor, requesting him to come in person to this town of Rouen and conduct the trial in person or provide a deputy authorized with more extensive and particular powers, according to the tenor of our letters transcribed below

Whereupon the said brother Jean Le Maître replied that for the serenity of his conscience and the safer conduct of the trial he would not participate in the present matter, unless he received especial authority. Nevertheless as far as he lawfully might he allowed that we the said bishop should proceed further until he had received more ample counsel upon the question whether he could in virtue of his commission undertake the conduct of this trial. Thus with his consent we once again offered to acquaint him with the past and future procedure. And after receiving the decisions of the assessors, we decreed in our letters of citation transcribed below, that this woman should be summoned to appear before us on the following Wednesday, February 29th

*First follows the tenor of letters of appointment of the said
Jean Le Maître*

Brother Jean Graverent, of the order of Preaching brothers, professor in sacred theology, by apostolic authority Inquisitor of Heretical Error in all the kingdom of France, to his well loved brother in Christ, Jean Le Maître, of the same order, greeting in Our Lord Jesus Christ, the author and consummator of our faith. Heresy is a disease which creeps like a cancer, secretly killing the simple, unless the knife of the inquisitor cuts it away. Hence, with confidence in your zeal for the faith, in your discretion and integrity, and in virtue of the apostolic authority which we enjoy, we have made, created and constituted you, and by the tenor of these present letters we make, create and constitute you our

vicar in the town and diocese of Rouen, giving and granting you entire authority in this town and diocese against all heretics and them suspected of heresy, their accomplices, protectors and concealers, to investigate, cite, summon, excommunicate, apprehend, detain, correct and proceed against them by all opportune means, up to and including the final sentence, with absolution and the pronouncement of salutary penances, to perform and exercise in general each and every duty pertaining to the office of inquisitor by law, custom or special privilege, which we ourselves should perform if we were acting in person. Given at Rouen, August 21st in the year of Our Lord 1424."

Follows the tenor of the letter which we the said Bishop addressed to the Lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error

"Pierre, by divine mercy Bishop of Beauvais, to the venerable father master Jean Graverent, doctor of theology, Inquisitor of Heretical Error, greeting and sincere love in Christ Our lord the King, burning with zeal for the orthodox faith and the christian religion, has surrendered to us as ordinary judge a certain woman named Jeanne, commonly called *The Maid*, who, notoriously accused of many crimes against the christian faith and religion, suspected of heresy, was captured and apprehended in our diocese of Beauvais. The chapter of the cathedral of Rouen, in the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see, having granted and assigned us territory in this city and diocese in which to hold this trial, we, desiring to drive out all unholy errors disseminated among the people of God, to establish the integrity of the wounded Catholic faith, and to instruct the christian people, teaching them salvation particularly in this diocese and other parts of this most christian realm, resolved to examine the case of this woman with all diligence and zeal, to inquire into her acts and ways concerning the Catholic faith, and, after assembling a certain number of doctors of theology and canon law,

with other experienced persons, did, after great and mature consultation, begin her legal trial in this town. But as this particularly concerns your office of inquisitor, whose duty is to direct the light of truth upon the suspicions of heresy, we beg you, venerable father, require and summon you for the faith's sake to return without delay to the town of Rouen for the further conduct of the trial and to participate therein as is incumbent upon your office, according to legal form and apostolic sanctions, so that we may continue in this suit with a common sentiment and uniform procedure. And if your occupation or other reasonable cause should occasion any delay, at least entrust your authority to brother Jean Le Maître your vicar in this city and diocese of Rouen, or to some other deputy, so that you are not charged with the grievous delay caused by your absence after so urgent a summons, to the prejudice of the faith and the scandal of the christian people. Whatever you decide to do, please inform us of forth with in your letters patent. Given under our seal at Rouen, February 22nd, in the year of Our Lord 1431."

Signed G. BOISGUILLAUME
G. MANCHON

Wednesday, February 21st The First Public Session

On Wednesday, February 21st, at eight o'clock in the morning we the said bishop repaired to the chapel royal of the castle of Rouen, where we had summoned the said woman to appear before us at that hour and day. When we were seated in tribunal there were present the reverend fathers, lords and masters Gilles, abbot of Ste Trinite de Fecamp, Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard, Jean de Chatillon, Jean Beaupere, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, Jean Le Fevre, Maurice du Quesnay, Guillaume Le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Pierre Maurice, Richard Prati, and Gérard Feullet, doctors of sacred theology Nicolas de Jumieges, Guillaume de Ste Catherine, and

Guillaume de Cormeilles, abbots ; Jean Garin, canon, Raoul Roussel, doctors of canon and civil law , William Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Jean Le Maistre, Richard le Grouchet, Pierre Minier, Jean Pigache, Raoul Le Sauvage, bachelors of theology ; Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, Jean Le Doulx, bachelors of canon and civil law ; Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Basset, Jean de La Fontaine, Jean Bruillot, Aubert Morel, Jean Colombel, Laurent Du Busc, and Raoul Anguy, bachelors of canon law ; André Marguerie, Jean Alespée, Geoffrey du Crotay, and Gilles Deschamps, licentiates in civil law. In their presence there were read first the letters from the king upon the restoration and surrender of the said woman to us, then the letters from the chapter of Rouen granting us territory · the tenor of which is given below. Then master Jean d'Estivet, appointed and constituted our promoter in this trial, reported that he had caused the said Jeanne to be cited and summoned by our usher to appear at the said place, on the day and hour prescribed, to answer the question which should legally be put to her, as is clearly shown in the report of the usher affixed to our letters of citation.

Follows the tenor of the letters of citation and writ

“ Pierre, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, being in possession of territory in the city and diocese of Rouen, by the authority of the venerable chapter of the cathedral of Rouen in the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see, for the purpose of undertaking and concluding the aforementioned matter, to the dean of the christendom of Rouen, to all priests, whether curates or not, of this city and diocese, who shall see these present letters, greeting in the author and consummator of our faith. Since a certain woman commonly called Jeanne *the Maid* had been captured and apprehended within our diocese of Beauvais, and had been surrendered, despatched, given and delivered to us by the most christian and serene prince the lord king of France and England as

a person vehemently suspected of heresy, so that we should institute proceedings against her in matters of faith in view of the fact that rumours of her acts and sayings wounding our faith had notoriously spread not only through the kingdom of France, but also through all christendom, we, desirous of proceeding maturely in the affairs, resolved, after a diligent inquiry and consultation with learned men, that the said Jeanne should be summoned, cited, and heard upon the articles and interrogations given and made against her, and upon things concerning the faith. Hence we require each and every one of you not to wait for another if he is summoned by us nor to excuse himself by another. Therefore peremptorily summon the said Jeanne so vehemently suspected of heresy to appear before us in the chapel royal of the castle of Rouen at eight o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, February 21st, to speak the truth upon the said articles, interrogations and other matters of which we esteem her suspect, and to be dealt with as we shall think just and reasonable, intimating to her that she will be excommunicated if she fails to appear before us on that day. Give us a faithful account thereof in writing, you who are to be present to follow it. Given at Rouen under our seal Tuesday, February 20th, 1431.

Signed G BOISGUILLAUME
G MANCHON

The Usher's writ

To the reverend father in Christ, the lord Pierre by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, possessing territory in the city and diocese of Rouen by the pleasure of the venerable chapter of the cathedral of Rouen in the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see for the purpose of undertaking and concluding the aforementioned matter, your humble Jean Massieu, priest, dean of the christendom of Rouen, prompt obedience to your orders in all reverence and honour. Be it known to you, reverend father, that in

virtue of the summons you addressed to me, to which this present writ is joined, I have peremptorily cited to appear before you at eight o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, February 21st, in the chapel royal of the castle of Rouen, the woman commonly called *The Maid*, whom I have apprehended in person in the limits of this castle, and whom you vehemently suspect of heresy, to answer truthfully to the articles and interrogations which shall be addressed to her upon matters of faith and other points on which you deem her suspect, and to be dealt with according to law and reason and the intimation of your letters. The said Jeanne replied that she would willingly appear before you and answer the truth to the interrogations to which she shall be subjected, that, nevertheless, she requested you to summon in this suit ecclesiastics of the French side equal in number to those of the English party, and further, she humbly begged you, reverend father, to permit her to hear Mass before she appears before you, and to inform you of these requests, which I have done. By these present letters sealed with my seal and signed with my sign manual, I testify to you, reverend father, that all the foregoing has been done by me. Given in the year of Our Lord, 1431, on Tuesday preceding the said Wednesday "

Signed: JEAN

The Petition of the Promoter. Decision forbidding Jeanne to attend divine offices

After the reading of these letters the aforesaid promoter urgently required this woman to be commanded to appear in judgment before us in accordance with the summons, to be examined upon certain articles concerning the faith, which we granted. But since in the meantime this woman had requested to be allowed to hear Mass, we informed the assessors that we had consulted with notable lords and masters on this question, and in view of the crimes of which this woman was defamed, especi-

ally the impropriety of the garments to which she clung, it was their opinion that we should properly defer permission for her to hear Mass and attend the divine offices

Jeanne is led in to judgment

Whilst we were saying these things this woman was brought in by our usher. Since she was appearing in judgment before us we began to explain how this Jeanne had been taken and apprehended within the boundaries and limits of our diocese of Beauvais, how many of her actions, not in our diocese alone but in many other regions also, had injured the orthodox faith, and how common report of them had spread through all the realms of christendom, how recently the most serene and christian prince our lord the king had given and delivered this woman to us to be tried in matters of faith according to law and reason. Therefore, considering the public rumour and common report and also certain information already mentioned, after mature consultation with men learned in canon and civil law, we decreed that the said Jeanne should be summoned and cited by letter to answer the interrogations in matters of faith and other points truthfully according to law and reason, as set forth in the letters shown by the promoter

First exhortation to Jeanne

As it is our office to keep and exalt the Catholic faith, we did first, with the gentle succour of Jesus Christ (whose issue this is), charitably admonish and require the said Jeanne, then seated before us, that to the quicker ending of the present trial and the unburdening of her own conscience, she should answer the whole truth to the questions put to her upon these matters of faith, eschewing subterfuge and shift which hinder truthful confession

She is required to take oath

Moreover, according to our office, we lawfully required the said Jeanne to take proper oath, with her

hands on the holy gospels, to speak the truth in answer to such questions put to her, as beforesaid.

The said Jeanne replied in this manner : " I do not know what you wish to examine me on. Perhaps you might ask such things that I would not tell " Whereupon we said . " Will you swear to speak the truth upon those things which are asked you concerning the faith, which you know ? " She replied that concerning her father and her mother and what she had done since she had taken the road to France, she would gladly swear , but concerning the revelations from God, these she had never told or revealed to anyone, save only to Charles whom she called King , nor would she reveal them to save her head ; for she had them in visions or in her secret counsel , and within a week she would know certainly whether she might reveal them.

Thereupon, and repeatedly, we, the aforementioned bishop, admonished and required her to take an oath to speak the truth in those things which concerned our faith The said Jeanne, kneeling, and with her two hands upon the book, namely the missal, swore to answer truthfully whatever should be asked her, which she knew, concerning matters of faith, and was silent with regard to the said condition, that she would not tell or reveal to any person the revelations made to her.

First Inquiry after the oath

When she had thus taken the oath the said Jeanne was questioned by us about her name and her surname. To which she replied that in her own country she was called Jeannette, and after she came to France, she was called Jeanne. Of her surname she said she knew nothing. Consequently she was questioned about the district from which she came She replied she was born in the village of Domrémy, which is one with the village of Greux ; and in Greux is the principal church.

Asked about the name of her father and mother, she

replied that her father's name was Jacques d'Arc, and her mother's Isabelle

Asked where she was baptized, she replied it was in the church of Domrémy

Asked who were her godfathers and godmothers, she said one of her godmothers was named Agnes, another Jeanne, another Sibylle, of her godfathers, one was named Jean Lingué, another Jean Barrey she had several other godmothers, she had heard her mother say

Asked what priest had baptized her, she replied that it was master Jean Minet, as far as she knew

Asked if he was still living, she said she believed he was

Asked how old she was, she replied she thought nineteen She said moreover that her mother taught her the Paternoster, Ave Maria, and Credo, and that no one but her mother had taught her her Credo

Asked by us to say her Paternoster, she replied that if we would hear her in confession then she would gladly say it for us And as we repeatedly demanded that she should repeat it, she replied she would not say her Paternoster unless we would hear her in confession Then we told her that we would gladly send one or two notable men, speaking the French tongue, to hear her say her Paternoster, etc., to which the said Jeanne replied that she would not say it to them, except in confession

Prohibition against her leaving prison

Whereupon we, the aforementioned bishop, forbade Jeanne to leave the prison assigned to her in the castle of Rouen without our authorization under penalty of conviction of the crime of heresy She answered that she did not accept this prohibition, adding that if she escaped, none could accuse her of breaking or violating her oath, since she had given her oath to none Then she complained that she was imprisoned with chains

and bonds of iron. We told her that she had tried elsewhere and on several occasions to escape from prison, and therefore, that she might be more safely and securely guarded, an order had been given to bind her with chains of iron. To which she replied : " It is true that I wished and still wish to escape, as is lawful for any captive or prisoner "

We then commissioned as the safeguard of the said Jeanne the noble man John Grey, Squire, of the body-guard of our lord the King, and with him Jean Berwoit and William Talbot, enjoining them to guard her well and faithfully, and to permit no person to speak with her without our order. Which, with their hands on the Gospel, they solemnly swore to do.

And finally, having completed all the preliminaries, we assigned the said Jeanne to appear the next day, Thursday, at eight o'clock in the morning, in the Robing Room at the end of the great hall of the castle of Rouen.

Thursday, February 22nd, second session

On Thursday, February 22nd, we entered the Robing Room at the end of the great hall of the castle of Rouen, where there were assembled the reverend fathers, lords, and masters. Gilles, abbot of Ste Trinité de Fécamp, Pierre, prior of Longueville, Jean de Châtillon, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, Jean Le Fèvre, Maurice du Quesnay, Guillaume Le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Pierre Maurice, Richard Prati and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of sacred theology, Nicolas de Jumièges, Guillaume de Ste. Catherine, Guillaume de Cormeilles, abbots; Jean Garin and Raoul Roussel, canons, doctors of canon and civil law, William Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Jean Le Maistre, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, Jean Pigache, Raoul Le Sauvage, bachelors of sacred theology, Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, Jean Le Doulx, bachelors of canon and civil law, Jean Basset, Jean de La Fontaine,

Jean Bruillot, Aubert Morel, Nicolas de Venderes, Jean Pinchon, Jean Colombel, Laurent Du Busc, Raoul Anguy, bachelors of canon law, André Marguerie, Jean Alespée, Geoffroy du Crotay, and Gilles Deschamps, licentiates in civil law, the abbot of Préaux, brother Guillaume l'Ermite, Guillaume Desjardins, doctor of medicine, Robert Morellet, and Jean LeRoy, canons of the cathedral of Rouen

In their presence we showed that Jean Le Maître, vicar of the lord Inquisitor, then present, had been summoned and required by us to take part in the present proceedings, and that we had offered to communicate to him all that had been so far or should subsequently be done, but the deputy said that he had been appointed and commissioned by the lord Inquisitor for the city and diocese of Rouen only, whereas we were holding the trial, by reason of our jurisdiction in Beauvais, on ceded territory. Therefore, to avoid the nullification of the trial, and for the peace of his conscience, he put off his participation with us until such time as he should receive a fuller counsel and should have from the lord Inquisitor more extended power or a commission, in the meantime the said deputy, as far as he might, would be pleased to see us proceed further and without interruption with the trial. When he heard our account, the deputy answered, saying 'What you have said is true. I have been and I am, as far as in me lies, content that you should continue the trial.'

The said Jeanne was then brought before us there, and we admonished and required her, under penalty of law, to take the oath that she had taken the day before and to swear to speak the truth, absolutely and simply, on everything which she was asked in the respect of the matter of which she was accused and defamed. To which she replied that she had taken an oath yesterday, and that should suffice.

Then we required her to swear, for none, not even a prince, could refuse to take oath when required in

matter of faith. She answered again : " I swore yesterday ; that should be quite enough. You overburden me." At last she swore to speak the truth on that which concerned the faith.

Whereupon the distinguished professor of sacred theology, master Jean Beaupère, at our order and command questioned the said Jeanne as follows

And first he exhorted her to answer truly, as she had sworn, what he should ask her. To which she replied : " You may well ask me such things, that to some I shall answer truly, and to others I shall not." And she added, " If you were well informed about me, you would wish me to be out of your hands. I have done nothing except by revelation "

Asked how old she was when she left her father's house, she said she could not vouch for her age.

Asked if in her youth she had learned any craft, she said yes, to sew and spin : and in sewing and spinning she feared no woman in Rouen. And moreover she confessed that for dread of the Burgundians she left her father's house and went to the town of Neufchâteau, in Lorraine, to the house of a certain woman called *La Rousse*, where she stayed about a fortnight. She added too, that as long as she was at home with her father, she saw to the ordinary domestic tasks ; and that she did not go to the fields to look after the sheep and other animals.

Asked if she confessed her sins once a year, she said yes, to her own curé ; and when he was prevented, she confessed to another priest, with his permission. Sometimes, too, twice or thrice perhaps, she confessed to mendicant friars · but that was in the town of Neufchâteau. And she received the sacrament of the Eucharist at Easter

Asked if, at other feasts than Easter, she received the said sacrament of the Eucharist, she told the interrogator to continue to the next question. Afterwards she declared that at the age of thirteen she had a voice from God to help her and guide her. And the first time she

was much afraid And this voice came towards noon, in summer, in her father's garden and the said Jeanne had [not] fasted on the preceding day She heard the voice on her right, in the direction of the church, and she seldom heard it without a light This light came from the same side as the voice, and generally there was a great light When she came to France she often heard the voice

Asked how she could see the light of which she spoke, since it was at the side, she made no reply, and went on to other things She said that if she was in a wood she easily heard the voices come to her It seemed to her a worthy voice, and she believed it was sent from God, when she heard the voice a third time she knew that it was the voice of an angel She said also that this voice always protected her well and that she understood it well

Asked what instruction this voice gave her for the salvation of her soul she said it taught her to be good and to go to church often, and it told her that she must come to France And, Jeanne added, Beaupère would not learn from her, this time, in what form that voice appeared to her She further said that this voice told her once or twice a week that she should leave and come to France, and that her father knew nothing of her leaving She said that the voice told her to come, and she could no longer stay where she was, and the voice told her again that she should raise the siege of the city of Orleans She said moreover that the voice told her that she, Jeanne, should go to Robert de Baudricourt, in the town of Vaucouleurs of which he was captain, and he would provide an escort for her And the said Jeanne answered that she was a poor maid, knowing nothing of riding or fighting She said she went to an uncle of hers, and told him she wanted to stay with him for some time, and she stayed there about eight days And she told her uncle she must go to the said town of Vaucouleurs, and so her uncle took her

Then she said that when she reached Vaucouleurs she easily recognized Robert de Baudricourt, although she had never seen him before ; and she knew him through her voice, for the voice had told her it was he. And the said Jeanne told Robert she must come to France. The said Robert twice refused to hear her and repulsed her ; the third time he listened to her and gave her an escort. And the voice had told her that it would be so.

Then she declared that the duke of Lorraine ordered that she should be taken to him , and she went to him and told him she wished to go to France. And the duke questioned her about the recovery of his health ; but she said she knew nothing about that ; and she spoke to him little concerning her journey. She told the duke nevertheless to send his son and some men to escort her to France, and she would pray to God for his health. She visited him with a safe conduct and returned to the town of Vaucouleurs.

She declared that, on her departure from Vaucouleurs, she wore the habit of a man, and carried a sword which Robert de Baudricourt had given her, but no other arms , and accompanied by a knight, a squire, and four servants, she reached the town of Saint Urbain, where she slept in an abbey.

She said that on her journey she passed through Auxerre, and she heard Mass in the principal church there , and from that time she frequently heard her voices, including the one already mentioned.

Required to say by what advice she took to man's dress, she several times refused to answer. Finally she answered that she charged no one with that , and several times she answered variously.

She said that Robert de Baudricourt had sworn those who accompanied her to conduct her well and safely "Go," said Robert to Jeanne, as she departed, "Go, and come what may."

Jeanne said furthermore that she knows very well that God loves the duke of Orleans ; and so she had more

revelations concerning him than any man alive, except him whom she calls her king. She said also that it was altogether necessary to change her women's clothes for men's. She believed that her counsel said well.

She said that she sent to the English at Orleans letters telling them to depart, as shown in the copy of the letters which had been read to her in this town of Rouen, except two or three words in the copy. For example, where in this copy it read *Surrender to the Maid* it should read *Surrender to the king*. There are also these words, *body for body* and *chiestain of war*, which were not in the original letters.

After this she said Jeanne told that she went without hindrance to him whom she calls her king. And when she had arrived at Ste Catherine de Fierbois, then she sent first to Chinon, where he who she calls her king was. She reached Chinon towards noon and lodged at an inn, and after dinner she went to him whom she calls king, who was at the castle. She said that when she entered her king's room she recognized him among many others by the counsel of her voice, which revealed him to her. She told him she wanted to make war on the English.

Asked whether, when the voice showed her her king, there was no light, she answered: "Pass on to the next question." Asked if she saw no angel above the king, she answered: "Spare me that. Continue." She said also that before the king put her to work he had several apparitions and beautiful revelations.

Asked what revelations and apparitions the king had, she answered: "I will not tell you. It is not now the time to tell you, but send to the king and he will tell you."

Then Jeanne said that her voice had promised her that as soon as she should come to the king he would receive her. She said also that those of her party knew well that the voice was sent to Jeanne from God, and they saw and knew this voice. She said further that her king and several others heard and saw the voices which came

to the said Jeanne , and there were present Charles de Bourbon, and two or three others.

Then Jeanne said that there is not a day when she does not hear this voice , and she has much need of it. She said she never asked of it any final reward but the salvation of her soul . The voice told her to remain at Saint-Denis in France, and the said Jeanne wished to remain ; but against her will the lords took her away. However, if she had not been wounded, she would not have left , she was wounded in the trenches before Paris, after she left Saint-Denis ; but recovered in five days. Further she confessed that she caused an assault to be made before Paris

And when she was asked if that day were a feast day, she answered she thought it certainly was.

Asked if she thought it was a good thing to do, she answered . " Pass on " When this was over, as it appeared to us sufficient for one day, we postponed the affair until the following Saturday, at eight o'clock in the morning.

February 24th Third Session

On the following Saturday, February 24th, we the said bishop repaired to the same room in the castle of Rouen where Jeanne appeared in judgment before us in the presence of many reverend fathers, doctors and masters, namely Gilles, abbot of Ste. Trinité de Fécamp , Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard , Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, Maurice du Quesnay, Jean Le Fèvre, Guillaume Le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Pierre Maurice, Richard Prati, Jean Charpentier, Gérard Feuillet, and Denis de Sabrevois, doctors of sacred theology ; Nicolas de Jumièges, Guillaume de Ste Catherine, Guillaume de Cormeilles, abbots , Jean Garin, doctor of canon law and Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law , Nicolas Coupequesne, William Haiton, Thomas de Courcelles,

Jean Le Maître, Nicolas Loiseleur, Raoul Le Sauvage, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Nicolas Lemire, Richard Le Gagneux, Jean Duval, Guillaume Le Maître, and Guillaume l'Ermite, bachelors of sacred theology, the abbots of St Ouen, of St Georges, and of Préaux, the priors of St Lo and of Sigy, also Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, and Jean Le Doulx, bachelors of canon and civil law, Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Pinchon, Jean de La Fontaine, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, Jean Colombel, Laurent Du Busc, Raoul Anguy, Richard des Saulx, bachelors of canon law, André Marguerie, Jean Alespée, Geoffroy du Crotay, Gilles Deschamps, Nicolas Maulin, Pierre Carel, Bureau de Cormeilles, licentiates in civil law, Robert Morellet, and Jean Le Roy, canons of the cathedral of Rouen, and Nicolas de Foville

We first of all required the aforementioned Jeanne to speak the simple and absolute truth on the questions put to her, and to make no reservation to her oath, and we thrice admonished her to do this. The said Jeanne answered "Give me leave to speak" and then said 'By my faith, you could ask things such as I would not answer. She said also "Perhaps I shall not answer you truly in many things that you ask me, concerning the revelations, for perhaps you would construe me to tell things I have sworn not to utter, and so I should be perjured, and you would not want that'. And she added, "I tell you, take good heed of what you say, that you are my judge, for you assume a great responsibility, and overburden me". She said also that she thought it should be enough to have twice taken the oath.

Moreover, asked if she would swear, simply and absolutely, she answered "You may well do without it. I have sworn enough, twice", adding that all the clergy of Rouen and Paris could not condemn her, but by law. She said that of her coming to France she would willingly speak the truth, but not the whole truth, and a week would not be enough for that

But we, the aforementioned bishop, told her to take the advice of the assessors, whether or not she should swear. To that she replied that of her coming she would willingly speak the truth, and not otherwise ; and that we must not speak of it to her any more.

We said that she lay herself open to suspicion if she would not swear to speak the truth. She replied in the same way as before. Again we required her to swear, precisely and absolutely. Then she answered that she would willingly say what she knew, but not all. She said also that she came from God, and that there is nothing for her to do here, and asked to be sent back to God, from whom she came.

Required and admonished to swear, under pain of being charged with what was imputed to her, she answered "Continue"

A last time we required her to swear, and urgently admonished her to speak the truth in matters concerning the trial, telling her she exposed herself to great danger by her refusal. Then she answered : "I am ready to swear to speak the truth of what I know concerning the trial." And in this manner she took the oath

Then, at our order, she was questioned by the distinguished doctor Jean Beaupère above-mentioned, who first asked her when she had last taken food and drink. She answered that since yesterday noon she had not taken either.

Asked when she had heard the voice come to her, she answered . "I heard it yesterday and to-day."

Asked at what hour yesterday she had heard this voice, she answered she had heard it three times : once in the morning, once at vespers, and once when the *Ave Maria* was rung in the evening. And often she heard it more frequently than she said

Asked what she was doing yesterday morning when the voice came to her, she said she was sleeping and the voice awakened her.

Asked if the voice woke her by touching her on the arm, she answered that it was without touching her

Asked if the voice was actually in the room, she said she did not know, but it was in the castle

Asked if she did not thank it and kneel down, she answered that she thanked it, but she was sitting on the bed, and she put her hands together, and this was after she asked counsel of it Whereupon the voice told her to answer boldly

Asked what the voice had said when she was awakened, she answered that she asked the voice to counsel her in her replies, telling the voice to beseech therein the counsel of Our Lord And the voice told her to answer boldly and God would comfort her

Asked if it had not spoken certain words to her before she questioned it, she replied that the voice spoke certain words, but she did not understand them all However, when she awakened from her sleep, the voice told her to answer boldly

Then she said to us, the aforementioned bishop "You say that you are my judge, take good heed of what you do, because, in truth, I am sent by God, and you put yourself in great peril," in French *en grant dangier*

Asked if the voice sometimes varied in its counsel, she answered that she had never found it utter two contrary opinions She said also that that night she had heard it tell her to answer boldly

Asked whether the voice had forbidden her to answer everything she was asked, she said "I will not answer you that I have revelations concerning the king which I shall not tell you"

Asked if the voice had forbidden her to tell of the revelations, she answered "I have not been advised upon that Give me a fortnight and I will answer you" And as she had again asked for a delay in her reply, she said "If the voice forbid me, what would you say?"

Asked again if that had been forbidden her [by the

voice], she replied : " Believe me, it was not men who forbad me." She said that she would not answer that day ; and that she does not know if she ought to reply, or not, until it has been revealed to her. She said she firmly believes, as firmly as she believes in the Christian faith and that the Lord redeemed us from the pains of hell, that this voice comes from God, and by His command.

Asked whether this voice, which she says appears to her, comes as an angel, or directly from God, or whether it is the voice of one of the saints, she answered : " This voice comes from God ; I believe I do not tell you everything about it ; and I am more afraid of failing the voices by saying what is displeasing to them, than of answering you. For this question, I beseech you to grant me a delay."

Asked if she believes it displeasing to God to speak the truth, she answered : " My voices told me to say certain things to the king, and not to you." She saw that that night the voice told her many things for the good of the king, which she wished he might know forthwith, even if she had to go without wine till Easter ! For, as she said, he would eat the more happily for it.

Asked if she could not so influence the voice that it would obey her and take news to her king : she answered she did not know whether the voice would obey her, unless it were God's will, and God consented thereto. " And if it please God ", she said, " He will be able to send revelations to the king ; and with this I shall be well pleased."

Asked why this voice no longer speaks with the king, as it did when Jeanne was in his presence, she answered that she did not know, if it were not the will of God. And she added that but for the will of God she could do nothing.

Asked if her counsel revealed to her that she should escape from prison, she answered : " Must I tell you that ? "

Asked whether that night the voice had not counselled

and advised her upon what she should reply, she said that if the voice revealed such things she did not understand them

Asked whether, on the two last days that she heard the voices, she had seen a light, she answered that the light comes in the name of the voice

Asked if she saw anything else with the voices, she answered "I will not tell you everything. I have not leave, nor does my oath touch on that. This voice is good and worthy, and I am not bound to answer you." She asked that the points on which she did not straightway answer should be given her in writing

Asked whether the voice, of which she asked counsel, had sight and eyes, she answered "You will not learn that yet", and said that there was a saying among little children, "Men are sometimes hanged for telling the truth"

Asked if she knows she is in God's grace, she answered "If I am not, may God put me there, and if I am, may God so keep me. I should be the saddest creature in the world if I knew I were not in His grace." She added, if she were in a state of sin, she did not think that the voice would come to her, and she wished everyone could hear the voice as well as she did. She thought she was about thirteen when the voice came to her for the first time

Asked whether in her youth she had played in the fields with the other children, she answered that she certainly went sometimes, but she did not know at what age

Asked if the people of Domrémy sided with the Burgundians or the other party, she answered that she only knew one Burgundian, and she would have been quite willing for him to have his head cut off, that is if it had pleased God

Asked if at Maxey the people were Burgundians or enemies of the Burgundians, she answered they were Burgundians

Asked if the voice told her in her youth to hate the Burgundians, she answered that since she had known that the voices were for the king of France, she did not like the Burgundians. She said the Burgundians will have war unless they do as they ought ; she knows it from her voice.

Asked if it was revealed to her in her early years that the English should come to France, she answered that the English were already in France when the voices began to come to her.

Asked if she was ever with the children who fought for her party, she answered no, as far as she remembered ; but she sometimes saw certain children from Domrémy, who had fought against those from Maxey, returning wounded and bleeding.

Asked whether in her youth she had any great intention of defeating the Burgundians, she answered that she had a great desire and will for her king to have his kingdom.

Asked if she had wanted to be a man when it was necessary for her to come to France, she said she had answered elsewhere

Asked if she took the animals to the fields, she said that she had answered elsewhere ; and that since she had grown up, and had reached understanding, she did not generally look after the beasts, but helped to take them to the meadows and to a castle called the Island, for fear of the soldiers , but she does not recall whether or not she tended them in her youth.

Then she was questioned about a certain tree growing near her village. To which she answered that, fairly near Domrémy, there was a certain tree called the Ladies' Tree, and others called it the Fairies' Tree ; and near by is a fountain. And she has heard that people sick of the fever drink of this fountain and seek its water to restore their health , that, she has seen herself ; but she does not know whether they are cured or not. She said she has heard that the sick, when they can rise, go

to the tree and walk about. It is a big tree, a beech, from which they get the fair May, in French *le beau may*, and it belongs, it is said, to Pierre de Bourlemont, knight. She said sometimes she would go playing with the other young girls, making garlands for Our Lady of Domrémy there, and often she had heard the old folk say (not those of her family) that the fairies frequented it. And she heard a certain Jeanne, the wife of mayor Aubery of Domrémy, her godmother, say that she had seen the fairies, but she herself doesn't know whether it is true or not. As far as she knew, she said, she never saw the fairies at the tree. Asked if she saw them elsewhere, she does not know at all. She had seen the young girls putting garlands on the branches of the tree, and she herself sometimes hung them there with the other girls, sometimes they took them away, and sometimes they left them there.

She said that since she learnt that she must come to France, she had taken as little part as possible in games or dancing, and did not know whether she had danced near the tree since she had grown to understanding. Although on occasions she may well have danced there with the children, she more often sang than danced. There is also a wood, called the oak-wood, in French *le Bois chesnu*, which can be seen from her father's door, not more than half a league away. She does not know, nor has she ever heard, that the fairies repair there, but she has heard from her brother that in the country around it is said she received her message at the tree, but she says she did not, and she told him quite the contrary. Further, she says, when she came to the king, several people asked her if there were not in her part of the country a wood called the oak-wood, for there was a prophecy which said that out of this wood would come a maid who should work miracles, but Jeanne said that she put no faith in that.

Asked if she wanted a woman's dress, she answered 'Give me one. I will take it and go otherwise I will

not have it, and am content with this, since it pleases God that I wear it."

Whereupon we put an end to all interrogation for this day, and assigned for the next session the following Tuesday, so that at the same hour and in the same place the whole convocation should assemble and proceed to the subsequent interrogations.

Tuesday, February 27th. Fourth session

On Tuesday, February 27th, we repaired as on the previous days to the room in the castle of Rouen where the tribunal had been hitherto sitting : there were also present master Gilles, abbot of Ste. Trinité de Fécamp, Pierre, prior of Longueville ; Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, Maurice du Quesnay, Jean Le Fèvre, Guillaume Le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Giovanni da Fano, Denis de Sabrevois, Nicolas Lemire, and Jean Charpentier, doctors of sacred theology, Nicolas de Jumièges, Guillaume de Ste. Catherine, abbots, and Jean Garin, doctor of canon law ; Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law ; William Haiton, Nicolas Couppequesne, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, Thomas de Courcelles, Jean Le Maître, Jean Le Vautier, bachelors of sacred theology ; the abbot of Préaux, Guillaume Desjardins, doctors of medicine ; Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, Jean Le Doulx, Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Pinchon, Jean Basset, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, Jean de La Fontaine, Jean Colombel, Jean Bruillot, Raoul Anguy, bachelors of canon law ; Jean Alespée, Geoffroy du Crotay, Gilles Deschamps, Nicolas Caval, Pierre Carel, Nicolas Maulin, licentiates in civil law ; Nicolas Loiseleur and Robert Morellet, canons of the cathedral of Rouen

In their presence we first required the said Jeanne to take an oath to speak the truth on whatever concerned the trial. To which she replied that she would willingly

swear to answer truly everything that concerned her trial, but not everything she knew

Then we required her to swear to answer truthfully everything she should be asked. She replied as before, saying "You ought to be satisfied, for I have sworn enough."

Then at our instruction, master Jean Beaupère, aforementioned, began to examine her. And first he asked her how she had been in health since the preceding Saturday. She answered "You see well enough how I have been as well as possible."

Asked if she would fast every day during this Lent, she answered by this question "Is that in your case?" And as she was answered that it was, she said "Yes, truly, I have fasted the whole of Lent."

Asked whether since Saturday she had heard her voice she answered "Yes, truly, many times."

Asked if on Saturday she had heard it in this hall, where she was being examined, she answered "That is not in your case." And then she said she had heard it.

Asked what the voice had said on Saturday, she answered "I did not altogether understand it, I understood nothing I could repeat to you, until I went back to my room."

Asked what the voice said to her in her room, when she went back, she answered "It told me to answer you boldly." And she said she asked counsel from her voice on the questions we should ask her. She said further that she will gladly tell whatever she has Our Lord's permission to reveal, but concerning the revelations about the king of France, she will not tell without permission from her voice.

Asked if the voice forbade her to tell everything, she answered she did not quite understand that.

Asked what the voice said to her on the last occasion, she said she asked counsel of it upon certain points of our interrogation.

Asked if the voice had given her counsel upon these points, she answered that on some she had advice, and on others we might question her and she would not reply without leave. And if she replied without permission, perhaps she would not have the voices for warrant, in French *en garant* ; but when she had leave from Our Lord she would not be afraid to speak, for she would have a good warrant.

Asked whether the voice which spoke to her was that of an angel, or of a saint, male or female, or straight from God, she answered that the voice was the voice of St. Catherine and of St. Margaret. And their heads were crowned in a rich and precious fashion with beautiful crowns. "And to tell this," she said, "I have God's permission. If you doubt it, send to Poitiers where I was examined before."

Asked how she knew they were these two saints, and how she knew one from the other, she answered she knew well who they were, and easily distinguished one from the other.

Asked how she knew one from the other, she answered she knew them by the greeting they gave her. She said further that a good seven years have passed since they undertook to guide her. She said also she knows the saints because they tell her their names.

Asked if the said saints are dressed in the same cloth, she answered : "I will tell you no more now ; I have not leave to reveal it. If you do not believe me, send to Poitiers !" She said also that there were some revelations made directly to the king of France, and not to those who question her

Asked if the saints are the same age, she answered that she had not leave to say.

Asked if the saints spoke at the same time, or one after another, she answered : "I have not leave to tell you , nevertheless I have always had counsel from both."

Asked which one appeared first, she answered : "I

did not recognize them immediately, I knew well enough once, but I have forgotten, if I had leave I would gladly tell you. It is written down in the register at Poitiers.' She added that she had received comfort from St Michael.

Asked which of the apparitions came to her first, she answered that St Michael came first.

Asked whether it was a long time ago that she first heard the voice of St Michael, she answered "I do not speak of St Michael's voice, but of his great comfort."

Asked which was the first voice which came to her when she was about thirteen, she answered that it was St Michael whom she saw before her eyes, and he was not alone, but accompanied by many angels from heaven. She said also that she came into France only by the instruction of God.

Asked if she saw St Michael and these angels corporeally and in reality, she answered "I saw them with my bodily eyes as well as I see you, and when they left me, I wept, and I fain would have had them take me with them too."

Asked in what form St Michael appeared, she answered "There is as yet no reply to that, for I have not had leave to answer."

Asked what St Michael said to her the first time, she answered "You will get no further reply to-day." She said the voices told her to answer boldly. She said she had indeed once told her king everything that had been revealed to her, since it concerned him. She said, however, that she had not yet leave to reveal what St Michael said. She added that she wished her examiner had a copy of the book at Poitiers, provided that God desired it.

Asked if the voices told her not to tell her revelations without their permission, she answered "I will not answer you further about that, and what I have permission to, that I will gladly answer. If the voices forbade me, I did not understand."

Asked what sign she gives that this revelation comes from God, and that it is St. Catherine and St. Margaret who speak to her, she answered : " I have told you often enough that it is St. Catherine and St. Margaret ; believe me if you will."

Asked if it is forbidden for her to tell, she answered : " I have not quite understood whether that is permitted or not."

Asked how she can distinguish such points as she will answer, and such as she will not, she answered that on some points she had asked permission, and on some points she had received it. Furthermore she said she would rather be torn asunder by horses than have come to France without God's leave.

Asked if God ordered her to wear a man's dress, she answered that the dress is a small, nay, the least thing. Nor did she put on man's dress by the advice of any man whatsoever ; she did not put it on, nor did she do aught, but by the command of God and the angels.

Asked whether it seemed to her that this command to assume male attire was lawful, she answered : " Everything I have done is at God's command , and if He had ordered me to assume a different habit, I should have done it, because it would have been His command."

Asked if she did it at the order of Robert de Baudricourt she said no.

Asked if she thought she had done well to take man's dress, she answered that everything she did at God's command she thought well done, and hoped for good warrant and succour in it.

Asked if, in this particular case, by taking man's dress, she thought she had done well, she answered that she had done nothing in the world but by God's commands.

Asked whether, when she saw the voice coming to her, there was a light, she answered that there was a great deal of light on all sides, as was most fitting. She added to the examiner that not all the light came to him alone !

Asked whether there was an angel over her king's head, when she saw him for the first time, she answered "By Our Lady! if there was, I do not know and did not see it"

Asked if there was a light, she answered "There were three hundred knights and fifty torches, without counting the spiritual light, and I seldom have revelations but there is a light"

Asked how the king gave credence to her words, she answered that he had good signs, and through the clergy

Asked what revelations the king had, she answered 'You will not learn them from me this year' She said that for three weeks she was examined by the clergy, at Chinon and Poitiers, and her king had a sign touching of her mission before he believed in her The clergy of her party held that there was nothing but good in her mission

Asked if she had been to Ste Catherine de Fierbois, she answered yes, and there she heard Masses three times on the same day, and then went to Chinon She said she sent letters to her king, to the effect that she was sending to find out if she should enter the town where her king was, and that she had journeyed a good hundred and fifty leagues to come to his aid, and that she knew many things to his advantage And she thought these letters said she would be able to recognize the king among all others She said she had a sword which she took to the town of Vincouleurs She added that when she was at Tours or Chinon she sent for a sword which was in the church of Ste Catherine de Fierbois, behind the altar, and immediately it was found there all rusted over

Asked how she knew that this sword was there, she answered that the sword was in the ground, rusted over, and upon it were five crosses, and she knew it was there through her voices, and she had never seen the man who fetched it She wrote to the clergy of the place asking if it was their pleasure that she should have

the sword, and they sent it to her. Nor was it buried deep behind the altar, but she believed she wrote saying it was behind. She added that as soon as the sword was found the priests rubbed it, and the rust fell off at once without effort ; a merchant, an armourer of Tours, fetched it. The local priests gave her a scabbard, as did those of Tours also ; they made two in all, one of crimson velvet, in French *de velours vermeil*, and the other of cloth of gold. She herself had another made of very strong leather. She added that when she was captured she had not this sword with her.

She said also that she carried it continually from the time she obtained it until her departure from St. Denis, after the assault on Paris.

Asked what blessing she said or asked over the sword, she answered that she neither blessed it herself, nor had it blessed : she would not have known how to do it. She loved the sword, she said, since it had been found in the church of St. Catherine, whom she loved.

Asked if she had been to Coulange-la-Vineuse, she answered she did not know.

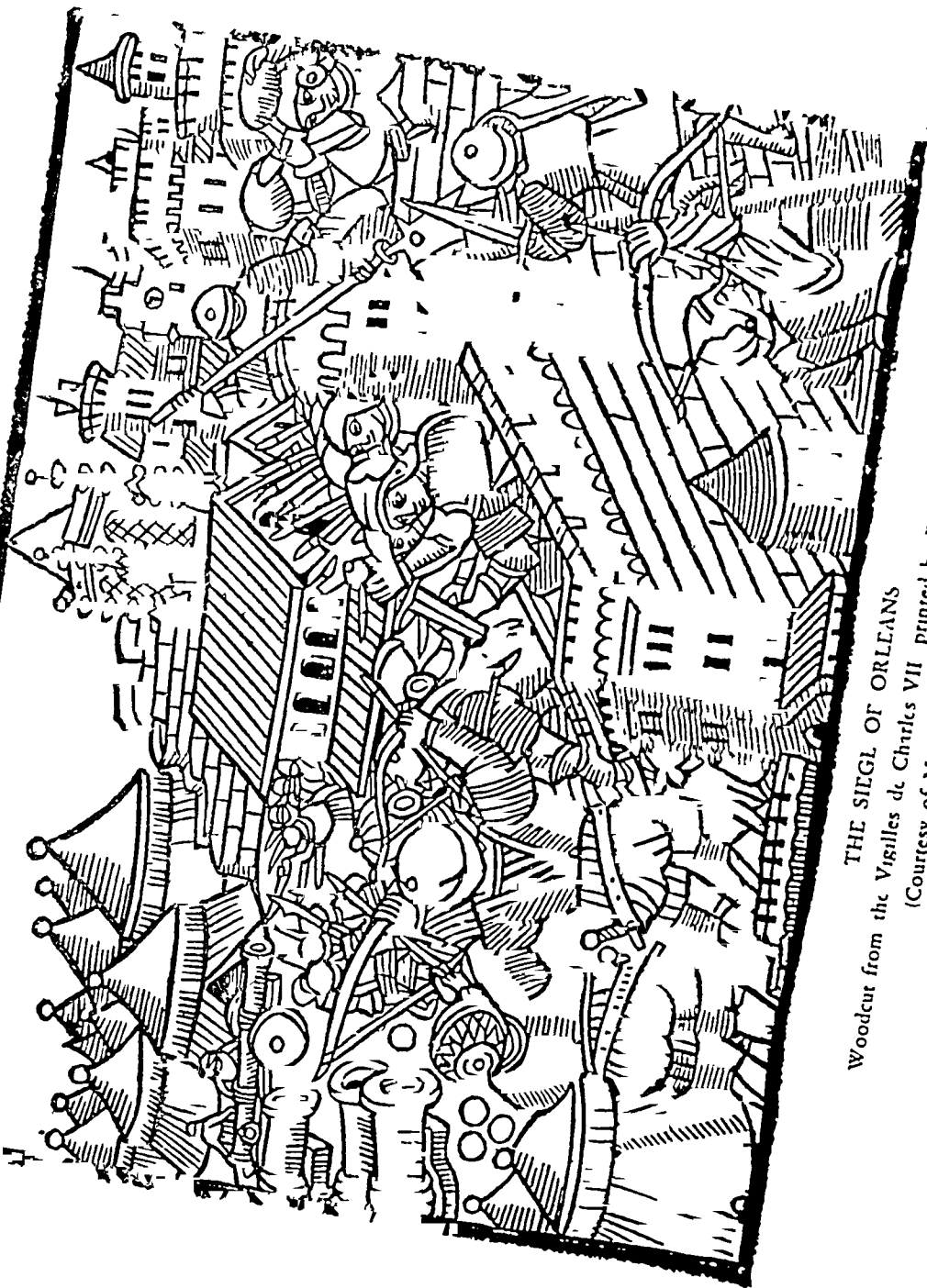
Asked if she ever put her sword on the altar, and if she did so to bring it better fortune, she answered no, as far as she knew.

Asked if she ever prayed for her sword to have better fortune, she answered . “ It is well to know that I could have wished my armour (in French *mon harnois*) to have good fortune.”

Asked if she had her sword when she was taken, she answered no , but she had one which had been taken from a Burgundian.

Asked where this sword was, and in what town, she answered that she offered a sword and armour at St. Denis, but not this sword. She said she had this sword at Lagny ; and from Lagny to Compiègne she had worn the Burgundian's sword, which was a good weapon for fighting, excellent for giving hard clouts and buffets (in French *de bonnes buffes et de bons torchons*) But she said

Comment le iége fut mis a or'eure par les anglois.



THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS
Woodcut from the *Vigilles de Charles VII* printed by P. Le Caron 1593
(Courtesy of Messrs Sheed & Ward)

that to say where she had lost it did not concern the case, and she would not answer now. She added that her brothers have her goods, her horses and swords, as far as she knows, and other things worth more than 12,000 crowns.

Asked whether, when she went to Orleans, she had a standard or banner, in French *estandard ou bannière*, and what colour it was, she answered she had a banner, with a field sown with lilies, the world was depicted on it, and two angels, one at each side, it was white, of white linen or boucassin, and on it were written, she thought, these names, JHESUS MARIA, and it was fringed with silk.

Asked if these names JHESUS MARIA were written above, or below, or at the side, she answered, at the side, she believed.

Asked which she preferred, her standard or her sword, she answered she much preferred her standard to her sword.

Asked who persuaded her to have this painting on her standard, she answered 'I have told you often enough that I have done nothing but by God's command.' She said also that she herself bore the standard, when attacking the enemy, so as not to kill anyone, she never has killed anyone, she said.

Asked what force her king gave her when he set her to work, she answered that he gave her 10 or 12,000 men and she went first to Orleans, to the fortress of Saint-Loup, and then to the fortress of the Bridge.

Asked to which fortress she ordered her men to retire, she says she does not remember. She added that she was confident of raising the siege of Orleans, for it had been revealed to her, and she had told the king so before going there.

Asked whether, when the assault was to be made, she did not tell her men that she would receive arrows, cross-bolts and stones hurled by catapults or cannons, she answered no, there were a hundred wounded, or more. But she had indeed told her men not to fear and they would raise the siege. She said also that at the assault

upon the fortress of the Bridge she was wounded in the neck by an arrow or crossbolt ; but she received great comfort from St. Margaret, and was better in a fortnight. But she did not on account of that give up her riding or work.

Asked if she knew beforehand that she would be wounded, she answered that she did indeed, and she had told her king so ; but that notwithstanding she would not give up her work. And it was revealed to her by the voices of the two saints, namely the blessed Catherine and Margaret. She added that she herself was the first to plant the ladder against the said fortress of the Bridge ; and as she was raising the ladder she was wounded in the neck with the crossbolt, as she had said.

Asked why she had not concluded a treaty with the captain of Jargeau, she answered that the lords of her party replied to the English that they would not get the delay of a fortnight which they asked for, but must go away, they and their horses, immediately. She added that for her own part, she told the people of Jargeau to retire if they wished, with their doublets or tunics, and their life safe ; otherwise they would be taken by assault.

Asked if she had any conversation with her counsel, that is to say with her voices, to find out whether or not to grant the delay, she answered she does not remember.

At this point the examination was postponed to a later date, and we fixed the following Thursday for the continuation of the inquiry and subsequent interrogations.

March 1st. Fifth session

On Thursday, March 1st, we the said bishop repaired to the accustomed place in the castle of Rouen, where the said Jeanne appeared before us in the presence of the reverend fathers, lords and masters : Gilles, abbot of Ste. Trinité de Fécamp ; Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Denis de Sabrevois, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, Maurice

du Quesnay, Guillaume Le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Jean de Nibat, Jean Le Fèvre, Jacques Guesdon, doctors of sacred theology, Nicolas de Jumièges, Guillaume de Ste Catherine and Guillaume de Cormeilles, abbots, Jean Garin, doctor of canon law, the abbots of St Ouen and of Préaux, and the prior of St Lo, William Hailton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Thomas de Courcelles, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Jean Pigache, Raoul Le Sauvage, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, Jean Le Maître, Jean Le Vautier, bachelors of sacred theology, Nicolas de Venderes, Jean Bruillot, Jean Pinchon, Jean Basset, Jean de La Fontaine, Raoul Anguy, Jean Colombel, Richard des Saulx, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, Laurent Du Busc, Philippe Le Maréchal, bachelors of canon law, Denis Gastinel, Jean Le Doulx, Robert Le Barbier, bachelors of canon and civil law, André Marguerie, Jean Alespee, Gilles Deschamps, Nicolas Caval, Geoffroy du Crotay, Pierre Cave, Nicolas Maulin, licentiates in civil law, Robert Morellet, and Nicolas Loiseleur, canons of the cathedral of Rouen

In their presence we summoned and required the said Jeanne to swear to speak the truth, the simple and absolute truth on what she was asked. She answered that she was ready to swear to answer truly everything she knew, concerning the trial, as she said before. She said she knows many things which do not concern the trial, and there is no need to tell them. Then she said 'Everything I truly know concerning the trial I will gladly tell.' Summoned and required as before, to swear, she answered "What I can answer truly, I will willingly tell concerning the trial." And she took the oath in this manner, with her hands on the holy gospels. Then she said "Of what I know concerning the trial I will willingly tell the truth, and will tell altogether as much as if I were before the Pope of Rome."

Asked what she said concerning our lord the Pope and whom she believed to be the true Pope, she answered by asking if there were two of them

Asked if she had not had letters from the count d'Armagnac, to ask which of the three sovereign pontiffs he should obey, she answered that the said count did write a certain letter to this effect, to which she replied, amongst other things, that she would give him an answer when she was in Paris, or anywhere where she was at rest. And she was going to mount her horse when she gave this answer.

At this juncture we had read in court a copy of the letters from the count and from Jeanne, and she was examined to see whether this was a copy of her actual reply. She answered that she thought she had made this reply in part, but not all of it.

Asked if she had professed to know, by the counsel of the King of Kings, what the count should hold in this matter, she answered she knew nothing about it.

Asked if she entertained any doubt concerning whom the count should obey, she answered that she did not know how to instruct him to obey, since the count asked whom God wanted him to obey. But as for herself, Jeanne thought we should obey our Holy Father the Pope at Rome. She added that she said other things to the count's messenger which are not in the copy of the letter; and if the messenger had not gone off at once he would have been thrown into the water, but not through her. She said that to the count's inquiry concerning whom God wished him to obey, she answered that she did not know, but sent him several messages not put into writing. And as for herself, she believed in Our Holy Father the Pope at Rome.

Asked why she had written that she would give an answer at some other time, since she believed in the Pope at Rome, she answered that it had reference to another matter than the three sovereign pontiffs.

Asked if she had said that she would have counsel on the question of the three sovereign pontiffs, she answered that she had never written or caused to be written anything concerning the three sovereign pontiffs. This,

she swore by her oath, she had never written or caused to be written

Asked if she was in the habit of putting in her letters the names JHESUS MARIA with a cross, she answered in some she did, and in some she did not, and sometimes she put a cross to warn someone of her party not to do as her letters said

The tenor of the letters which the count and Jeanne wrote to one another is included below among the articles of the prosecutor

And then she was read the letters that she addressed to our lord the King, to the Duke of Bedford, and to others *The tenor of which letters is to be found below in the articles of the prosecutor*

And then she was asked if she recognized these letters, she answered yes, excepting three words, to wit where it was written *Surrender to the Maid*, it should read *Surrender to the king*, then there was *chieftain of war* and thirdly *body for body*, which were not in the letters she sent. She added that none of the lords ever dictated these letters, but she herself dictated them before they were sent, though they were indeed shown to certain of her party. She said that before seven years are past the English will lose a greater stake than they did at Orleans, for they will lose everything in France. She adds that the said English will suffer greater loss than ever they did in France, and it will be a great victory which God will send the French

Asked how she knew this, she answered "I know by a revelation made to me, and within seven years it will happen and I am much vexed that it should be so long postponed." She said also that she knew it by revelation as well as she knew we were at that moment before her

Asked when it will happen, she said she knew neither the day nor the hour

Asked in what year it will happen, she answered

"You will not learn that : nevertheless I heartily wish it might be before St John's Day."

Asked whether she said it would happen before Martinmas in winter, she answered that she had said that before Martinmas in winter many things would be seen , and it might be that the English would be overthrown.

Asked what she told John Grey, her guard, about Martinmas, she answered : " I have told you "

Asked through whom she knew that this would come to pass, she answered that she knew through St. Catherine and St. Margaret Asked if St. Gabriel was with St Michael when he came to her, she answered she did not remember.

Asked if since the last Tuesday she had not spoken with St. Catherine and St. Margaret, she answered yes, but she does not know at what time

Asked on what day, she answered, yesterday and to-day ; " there is no day but I hear them."

Asked if she always saw them in the same dress, she answered she always sees them in the same form ; and their heads are richly crowned. Of their other clothing she does not speak : of their robes she knows nothing

Asked how she knew whether her apparition was man or woman, she answered she knew for certain, she recognized them by their voices, and they revealed themselves to her ; nor did she know anything but by revelation and God's command

Asked what part of them she saw, she answered the face.

Asked if the saints which appeared to her had hair, she answered : " It is well to know that they have "

Asked if there were anything between their crowns and their hair, she answered no.

Asked if their hair were long and hung down, she answered : " I do not know." She added that she did not know whether they appeared to have arms or other

members She saw they spoke very well and beautifully, and she understood them very well

Asked how they spoke if they had no other members, she answered "I leave that to God" She said the voice was gentle, soft and low, and spoke in French

Asked if St Margaret spoke in the English tongue, she answered "Why should she speak English when she is not on the English side?"

Asked if on the crowned heads there were rings, she answered to us "You have one of mine, give it back to me" She said the Burgundians have another ring, and she asked us, if we had her ring, to show it to her

Asked who gave her the ring which the Burgundians had, she answered her father or her mother, and she thought the names JHESUS MARIA were written thereon, she did not know who had them written, she did not think there was any stone in it, and she was given the ring at Domrémy She said that her brother gave her the other ring which we had and she charged us to give it to the Church She said she never cured anyone with any of her rings

Asked if St Catherine and St Margaret spoke to her under the aforementioned tree she answered "I do not know"

Asked if the saints spoke to her at the fountain near the tree, she answered yes, she heard them there, but what they said to her there she did not know

Asked what the saints promised her, there or elsewhere, she answered that they made no promises to her, except by God's leave

Asked what promises they made, she answered "That is not in your case at all" And amongst other things, they told how the king would be re-established in his kingdom, whether his enemies wished it or not She said also that they promised the said Jeanne to bring her to Paradise, and she had asked it of them

Asked if she had received any other promise, she answered she had, but she will not tell, since it does not

concern the trial. And she said that in three months she will reveal the other promise.

Asked if the voices had told her that within three months she would be delivered from prison, she answered : " That is not in your case ; however, I do not know when I shall be delivered." And she said that those who wish to get her out of the world might well precede her.

Asked if her counsel had not told her that she would be delivered out of the present prison, she answered : " Ask me in three months' time ; then I will tell you " She added : " Ask the assessors, on their oath, if that concerns my trial."

Asked afterwards, when the assessors had deliberated, and unanimously concurred that it did, she said : " I have already told you that you cannot know all. One day I must be delivered. But I want leave if I am to tell you ; that is why I ask for a delay."

Asked if the voices forbade her to speak the truth, she answered : " Do you want me to tell you what is the sole concern of the king of France ? There are many things that are not in the trial."

She added that she knows for certain her king will regain the kingdom of France, as certainly as she knows that we are seated before her in judgment, and but for her revelation, which daily comforts her, she would be dead.

Asked what she had done with her mandrake, she answered that she has no mandrake, and never did have , but has heard that near her village there was one, though she has never seen it. She said also she has heard it called a dangerous and evil thing to keep ; nor does she know its use.

Asked where the mandrake grows, of which she has heard speak, she said in the earth, near the tree, but she does not know the spot. She said that over the mandrake, she has heard, a hazel grows.

Asked what she has heard about the mandrake, she

answered that she has heard it attracts money, but she does not believe it And the voices never told her anything about this

Asked in what form St Michael appeared, she answered that she did not see his crown, and she knows nothing of his apparel

Asked if he was naked, she answered 'Do you think God has not wherewithal to clothe him?'

Asked if he had any hair, she answered 'Why should it be cut off?' She added that she had not seen St Michael since she left the castle Crotoy, and she does not often see him, or know, she added, whether he has any hair

Asked whether he had his scales, she answered 'I do not know' She said she was filled with great joy when she saw him, and she felt, when she saw him, that she was not in mortal sin She said St Catherine and St Margaret gladly heard her in confession, from time to time, and each in turn She said that if she was in mortal sin she was not aware of it

Asked if, when she made her confession, she felt as if in mortal sin, she answered she did not know whether she was in mortal sin, but she believed she had not committed such deeds Please God," she said, "I never was in such sin, and if it please Him, I never shall commit or have committed such deeds as burden my soul'

Asked what sign she gave her king that she came from God, she answered I have always told you that you will not drag this from my lips Go and ask him

Asked if she had sworn not to reveal what was asked concerning the trial, she answered I have already said that I will not tell you what concerns or touches our king, and what touches our king, I shall not tell you

Asked if she did not know the sign she gave the king, she answered You will not learn from me" And

as she was told it concerned the trial, she answered : " What I have promised to keep secret I shall not tell you." And added : " I promised and I could not tell you without perjury "

Asked to whom she made this promise, she answered that it was to St. Catherine and St Margaret, it was shown to the king She promised it without their asking, and did so at her own desire, for too many people might have questioned her had she not so promised to the saints

Asked if anyone else was with them when she showed the sign to her king, she answered that she thought there was not, although many people were fairly near.

Asked if she saw the crown on her king's head when she showed him the sign, she answered : " I cannot tell you without perjury."

Asked whether her king had a crown when he was at Rheims, she answered that she thought the king took with pleasure the crown he found at Rheims, but a much richer one was later brought And he did that to hasten his coronation, at the request of the people of Rheims to avoid the burden of the men-at-arms. If he had waited he would have had a crown a thousand times richer

Asked if she saw this richer crown, she answered . " I cannot tell you without committing perjury. And if I have not myself seen it, I have heard that it is so rich and precious."

At this point we stayed the proceedings for the day ; and assigned Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning for their continuation, requiring those present to assemble together in the same place at the said hour and day.

Saturday, March 3rd. Sixth session

On the following Saturday, March 3rd, in the aforementioned place the said Jeanne appeared before us in the presence of the reverend fathers, lords and masters : Gilles, abbot of Ste. Trinité de Fécamp , Pierre, prior

of Longueville, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Denis de Sabrevois, Nicolas Lami, Guillaume Evrard, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, Maurice du Quesnay, Pierre Houdenc, Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, doctors of sacred theology, Guillaume, abbot of Ste Marie de Cormeilles, doctor of canon law, Guillaume Desjardins, Gilles Canivet, Roland L'Escrivain, Guillaume de La Chambre, doctors of medicine, the abbots of St Georges and of Préaux, the prior of St Lo, also Nicolas Coupequesne, Thomas de Courcelles, Guillaume Le Maître, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Jean Pigache, Raoul Le Sauvage, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, bachelors of sacred theology, Jean Le Doulx, bachelor of canon and civil law, Jean Duchemin, Jean Colombel, Raoul Anguy, Aubert Morel, bachelors of canon law, Geoffroy du Crotay, Bureau de Cormeilles, Nicolas Maulin, licentiates in civil law, and Nicolas Loiseleur, canon of the cathedral of Rouen.

In their presence we required the said Jeanne to answer the simple and absolute truth to the questions asked of her to which she replied 'As I did formerly, I am ready to swear.' And she swore thus, with her hands on the holy gospels.

Whereupon, because she had said that St Michael had wings, and yet had said nothing of the body and members of St Catherine and St Margaret, she was asked what she wished to say in this connexion. To which she replied 'I have told you what I know, and I will not answer you further.' She said also that she had seen St Michael and the saints so clearly that she knew they were saints of paradise.

Asked if she saw anything of them besides the face, she answered 'I have told you all that I know about that and I would rather have you cut my throat than tell you all I know.' She said that she would willingly tell everything she knew concerning the trial.

Asked if she believed that St Michael and St Gabriel have natural heads, she answered 'I saw them with

my two eyes, and I believe it was they I saw as firmly as I believe in the existence of God."

Asked if she believed that God created them in the form and fashion that she saw, she answered : " Yes."

Asked if she believed that God from the beginning created them in that form and fashion, she answered : " You will learn no more from me at present than I have told you "

Asked if she had known by revelation whether she would escape, she answered : " That is not in your case. Do you want me to speak against myself ? "

Asked if the voices told her anything about it, she answered : " That is not in your case I refer me to the case And if everything concerned you, I would tell you everything."

She added that, by her faith, she does not know at what hour or day she will escape.

Asked if the voices had told her anything about it in a general way, she answered : " Yes, indeed, they told me that I shall be delivered, but I do not know the day or the hour, and that I must boldly show a cheerful countenance before you."

Asked whether when the first time she came before the king he asked her if it was by revelation that she had changed her dress, she answered . " I have answered this before : nevertheless I do not recall whether I was asked. It is written down at Poitiers."

Asked whether the clerks of her own party who examined her, some for the space of a month and others for three weeks, had not questioned her about the changing of her dress, she answered : " I do not recall. But they asked me where I took to a man's dress, and I told them it was at Vaucouleurs."

Asked if the aforesaid masters inquired whether it was through her voices that she had assumed this dress, she answered . " I do not recall."

Asked if the queen did not inquire, at her first visit,

about her taking to a man's dress, she answered "I do not remember"

Asked if her king or queen or other people of her party did not sometimes ask her to put off her man's dress, she answered "That is not in your case"

Asked whether she was not asked to at the castle of Beaurevoir, she answered "Yes, truly And I answered I would not put it off without God's leave"

She said the Demoiselle of Luxembourg and the Lady of Beaurevoir offered her a woman's dress, or the cloth to make one, and told her to wear it, and she replied she had not God's permission, and it was not yet time

Asked if Messire Jean de Pressy and others at Arras did not offer her a woman's dress, she answered that he and many others had often asked her to wear it

Asked whether she believed she would have done wrong or committed a mortal sin by taking a woman's dress, she answered she did better to obey and serve her sovereign Lord, namely God

She said if she had had to do it she would rather have done so at the request of these two ladies than of any other ladies in France, save her queen

Asked whether, when God revealed to her that she should change to a man's dress, it was by the voice of St Michael, or by the voice of St Catherine or St Margaret, she answered "You will learn no more for the present"

Asked whether, when the king first set her to work and she had her standard made, the men at arms and others had pennons made in the style of hers, she answered "It is well to know that the Lords kept their own arms She added "Some of my companions in arms had them made at their pleasure, others did not

Asked of what material they had them made, of linen or cloth, she answered "It was of white satin, and on some there were fleurs-de-lys" She had only two or three lances in her company, but her companions-

at-arms sometimes had pennons made like hers, and did so merely to distinguish their men from others.

Asked if the pennons were often renewed, she answered : " I do not know. When the lances were broken, new ones were made."

Asked whether she had sometimes said that the pennons made like hers brought better fortune, she answered that she did sometimes say to her followers . " Go boldly among the English," and she herself would go.

Asked if she told them to bear the pennons boldly, and they would have good fortune, she answered she had indeed told them what had happened and what would happen again.

Asked whether she herself threw or had others throw holy water on the pennons when they were first taken, she answered : " I do not know anything about that. And if it was done, it was not at my instruction."

Asked if she ever saw holy water sprinkled on them, she answered : " That is not in your case ; and if I have seen it done, I am not now advised to answer you "

Asked if her companions-at-arms did not have written on their pennons the names JHESUS MARIA, she answered : " By my faith, I do not know."

Asked if she herself had borne, or made others bear in procession about an altar or church, cloth which was to be made into pennons, she answered no, nor had she ever seen it done.

Asked what it was she wore at the back of her helmet when she was before the town of Jargeau ; and if it was something round, she answered : " By my faith, there was nothing."

Asked if she ever knew brother Richard, she answered : " I had never seen him when I came before Troyes "

Asked what manner of greeting he gave her, she answered that the people of Troyes, she thought, sent



*Comment gergueau fut prise
Dassault par les francçois,*

THE TAKING OF JARGEAU BY THE FRENCH

F. T. & M. V. 20. 2. 3. CH. 1. VOL. 1 (1802)

him to her, saying that they were afraid she was not a thing sent from God, and when he drew near her, he made the sign of the Cross and sprinkled holy water, and she said to him "Come boldly, I shall not fly away."

Asked if she had seen or had made any images or pictures of herself or in her likeness, she answered that at Arras she saw a painting in the hands of a Scot, and she was shown in full armour, presenting letters to her king, with one knee on the ground. She said she had never seen or had made any other image or picture in her likeness.

Asked whether at her host's in Orleans there was a painting of three women, with these words *Justice, Peace, Union*, she answered that she knew nothing of that.

Asked whether she knew that certain of her party had service, Mass and prayers offered in her honour, she answered that she knew nothing of it, and if any service was held, it was not at her instruction, but if they prayed for her, she felt they had not done ill.

Asked whether her own party firmly believed her to be sent from God, she answered "I do not know whether they do, and I refer you to their own opinion, but if they do not, nevertheless I am sent from God."

Asked whether she believed that by deeming her to be sent from God they believed rightly, she answered "If they believe I am sent from God they are not deceived."

Asked if she did not know the feeling of members of her party when they kissed her feet and her hands and her garments, she answered that many came to see her gladly, but they kissed her hands as little as she could help, but the poor folk gladly came to her, for she did them no unkindness, but helped them as much as she could.

Asked what honour the people of Troyes did her when she entered the town, she answered they did her none. She added that she thought brother Richard

entered Troyes with her, but she does not remember seeing him enter.

Asked if he preached a sermon when she arrived, she replied that she scarcely stopped there, and did not sleep at all ; and as for the sermon, she knew nothing of it.

Asked whether she spent many days at Rheims, she answered : " I think we were there four or five days."

Asked whether she acted as godmother to a child there, she answered that at Troyes she did, to one child ; but at Rheims she does not recall so doing, nor at Château-Thierry ; and at Saint-Denis she was twice godmother. And she gladly gave to the boys the name of Charles, in honour of her king, and to the girls Jeanne ; at times she named them as the parents wished.

Asked whether the good wives of the town did not touch her king with their own, she answered that " many women touched my hands and my rings ; but I do not know with what thought or intention ".

Asked who it was of her company who caught butterflies in her standard before Château-Thierry, she answered that her party had never done that ; but the other side invented it.

Asked what she did at Rheims with the gloves with which her king was consecrated, she answered that a present of gloves was made to the knights and nobles present ; and there was one who lost his gloves ; but she did not say she would find them. She added that her standard was in the church at Rheims ; and she thought that it was fairly near the altar, during the consecration of her king, and she herself bore it for a short time. She does not know whether brother Richard bore it.

Asked whether, when she was going through the country, she often received the sacraments of the Eucharist and of Confession when she was in the good towns, she answered yes, from time to time

Asked whether she received the said sacraments in

man's dress, she answered yes, but she does not remember receiving them when she was in armour

Asked why she took the Bishop of Senlis's hackney, she answered that it was bought for two hundred *saluts*. Whether he received them or not, she does not know, but there was an arrangement and he was paid. She also wrote to him that he could have the horse back if he wished, she herself did not want it, for it was no good for carrying a load.

Asked how old the child was whom she restored to life at Lagny, she replied that it was three days old, and was brought to Lagny before the image of Our Lady, she was informed that the maidens of the town were also before the image, and she might wish to pray God and the Blessed Virgin to give life to the babe. And then she went and prayed with the other maidens, and at last life appeared in the child, which yawned thrice, and was afterwards baptized and immediately it died and was buried in consecrated ground. Three days had passed, they said, with no sign of life in the child, which was as black as her coat. But when it yawned, the colour began to return. And Jeanne was with the maidens, praying on bended knees, before Our Lady.

Asked whether it was said in the town that she had brought about the resuscitation, and that it was due to her prayers, she answered that she did not inquire about it.

Asked whether she knew or had seen Catherine de La Rochelle, she answered yes, at Jargeau and Montfaucon in Berry.

Asked whether Catherine showed her a woman robed in white who she said appeared to her, she answered no.

Asked what Catherine said to her, she answered that Catherine told her that a certain white lady came to her, arrayed in cloth of gold, telling her to go through the good towns with heralds and trumpets which the king would give her, to proclaim that whosoever possessed

gold, silver, or hidden treasure should immediately bring it forth ; and that she would immediately know those who having any hidden did not bring it forth, and would be easily able to find it , and it should go to the paying of Jeanne's men-at-arms. At which Jeanne replied to Catherine that she should go back to her husband, and look after her household (in French *son mesnage*) and care for her children. And to be certain about Catherine, Jeanne spoke of her to St. Catherine or St Margaret, who said it was mere folly and amounted to nothing. She wrote telling her king what he should do, and when she came to him she said that this question of Catherine was folly and nothing more. Nevertheless brother Richard wanted to set her to work, so both brother Richard and Catherine were ill-pleased with Jeanne.

Asked if she spoke to Catherine of going to La Charité-sur-Loire, she answered that the said Catherine did not advise her to go, and it was too cold, and she would not go. She told Catherine, who wished to go to the Duke of Burgundy and make peace, that it seemed to her that peace would not be found, except at the lance's point. She added that she asked this Catherine if the white lady came to her every night, saying she would, to see her, sleep in the same bed with Catherine. And she slept with her, and watched till midnight, saw nothing, and went to sleep. And when the morning came and she asked Catherine whether the white lady had come to her, she replied that she had, whilst Jeanne was sleeping, but Catherine had not been able to awaken her. Then Jeanne asked if the lady would come the following night, and Catherine answered yes ; so Jeanne slept by day, so that she might stay awake the whole of the succeeding night. And that night she went to bed with Catherine, and watched all night ; but saw nothing, although she often asked Catherine whether the lady would come, and Catherine answered : " Yes, presently "

Then Jeanne was asked what she did in the trenches

of La Charite, and she answered that she had an assault made, but she neither threw nor sprinkled holy water

Asked why she did not enter the aforesaid town of La Charité, since she had been commanded so by God, she answered Who told you I was commanded to enter ?

Asked if she had not counsel of her voice, she answered that she wanted to come to France, but the soldiers told her it was better to go first before La Charité

Asked if she was long in the tower of Beaurevoir, she answered that she was there about four months She said that when she learned the English were to come and take her, she was very angry and though her voices forbade her to jump from the tower, at last, from fear of the English, she leaped and commended herself to God and Our Lady, and in leaping was wounded And when she had made this leap the voice of St Catherine told her to be of good cheer [that she would recover] and the people at Compiègne would have aid She said she always prayed with her counsel for them of Compiègne

Asked what she said when she had leaped, she answered that some said she was dead, and as soon as the Burgundians saw she was alive, they told her she had tried to escape

Asked whether she said she would rather die than fall into the hands of the English, she answered she would rather surrender her soul to God than fall into their hands

Asked whether she was then much vexed, and whether she did not blaspheme the name of God, she answered that she never blasphemed the saints, and it was not her custom to swear

Asked about Soissons, and the captain who had surrendered the town, and whether she denied God (and said) that she would have the captain drawn and quartered if she got him, she answered that she never denied the saints, and those who said or reported that she had, were mistaken

When all these things were done, Jeanne was taken back to the place which had been assigned as her prison. Then we, the said Bishop, declared that, continuing the trial without interruption whatever, we should call certain doctors and men learned in canon and civil law who would gather from the confessions of the said Jeanne whatever might be gathered, since her answers have been set down in writing ; and after having seen them and gathered, if there remained any points upon which it appeared that the said Jeanne should be examined at greater length, she should be interrogated by deputies appointed by us, without disturbing the whole number of the assessors , and everything should be set down in writing so that wherever fitting the said doctors and authorities might deliberate and furnish their opinion and advice. We then instructed them to study and inspect, in their homes, the trial and that part of the proceedings they had already heard, to discover what should in their opinion follow, and to submit either to us or to our deputies or to reserve their conclusions, in order to present them after more ample and mature deliberations at a fitting time and place. We finally forbade each and every assessor to leave the city of Rouen without our permission before the termination of the trial.

*End of the First Part of the Public Sessions. Sunday,
March 4th (-9th)*

The Sunday next following, the fourth day of the month of March, and the immediate succeeding days, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, We, the said Bishop, assembled in our dwelling at Rouen many venerable doctors and masters versed in divine and canon law, and we collected all that had been confessed and answered by Jeanne in the inquiries, and also an extract of the points whereon she had insufficiently answered, and whereon it appeared she should be

further examined From the points so diligently collected and extracted, at the advice and deliberation of these learned men, we concluded that we must proceed to a further examination of the said Jeanne But since owing to our numerous occupations we cannot always attend in person the necessary examinations, we appointed the venerable and discreet person, Jean de La Fontaine, master of arts and licentiate in canon law, before mentioned, to pursue the legal inquiries in our stead, and we charged him to do this on Friday, March 9th, in the presence of the doctors and masters Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Thomas de Courcelles, Nicolas Loiseleur, Guillaume Manchon above mentioned

Saturday, March 10th First session in prison

The following Saturday, the tenth day of March, we repaired to the chamber in the castle of Rouen which had been assigned as the prison of Jeanne, and there, with the said master Jean de La Fontaine, our Commissary and Deputy, and the venerable doctors of sacred theology, masters Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feullet, in the presence of the witnesses, Jean Secard, advocate, and of master Jean Massieu, priest, we summoned Jeanne to swear and take oath to answer the truth to what was asked of her She replied, saying

I promise to answer you truthfully that which touches your case, and the more you constrain me to swear, the longer I shall take to tell you "

Whereupon master Jean de La Fontaine, specially charged and deputed by us to this end, interrogated the said Jeanne And he asked her, by the oath she had taken, whence she had come when she last went to Compiègne She answered that she had come from the town of Crespy-en-Valois

Asked whether she spent several days at Compiègne before she made any sally or attack therefrom, she answered that she came there secretly in the morning,

and entered the town unknown, she thought, to the enemy ; and the same day, towards evening, she made the sally (in French *la saillie*) in which she was taken.

Asked whether, when she attacked, the bells were rung, she replied that if they were, it was not at her order or with her knowledge ; she did not think so, or remember saying they were rung.

Asked whether she made the sally at the instruction of her voice, she answered that in Easter week last, when she was in the trenches at Melun, she was told by her voices, namely by St. Catherine and St. Margaret, that she would be captured before St. John's Day ; it had to be so ; and she should not be distressed, but take it in good part, and God would aid her.

Asked if since Melun she had been told by her voices that she would be taken, she answered yes, several times, nearly every day. And she asked of her voices, that when she was taken, she might die quickly without long suffering in prisons ; and the voices told her to be resigned to everything, that it must so happen ; but they did not tell her when. If she had known the hour, she would not have gone. She had often asked them at what hour she would be taken, but they did not tell her.

Asked whether, if her voices had ordered her to make this attack from Compiègne, and had signified that she would be captured, she would have gone, she answered that if she had known when she was to be taken she would not have willingly gone, nevertheless she would have done their bidding in the end, whatever it cost her.

Asked whether, when she made this attack from Compiègne, she had any voice or revelation to go forth and make it, she answered that that day she did not know she was to be captured, and she had no other order to go forth : but she had always been told that she must be taken prisoner.

Asked whether when she made the *sortie*, she crossed

over the bridge of Compiègne, she answered that she went over the bridge and through the boulevard (in French *boulevard*) and with those of her company she attacked the followers of lord Jean de Luxembourg, and twice drove them as far as the camp of the Burgundians, and the third time to the middle of the highway. Then the English who were there cut off the road from her and her company, and she, retreating to the fields on the Picardy side near the boulevard, was taken, and between the place where she was captured and Compiègne there was nothing but the river and the boulevard with its ditch.

Asked whether the world was painted on the banner she carried, with two angels, etc., she answered yes, she had but one.

Asked what this signified, to paint God holding the world, and two angels, she answered that St Catherine and St Margaret told her to take the banner, and bear it boldly, and to have painted thereon the King of Heaven. She told her king this, much against her will, and she knew no more than that of what it signified.

Asked whether she had a shield and arms, she answered that she never did, but her king granted arms to her brothers, namely a shield azure, two fleurs-de-lys, and a sword between, and in that town she described these arms to a painter because he asked what arms she bore. She said the king gave them to her brothers (to please them) without her request and without revelation.

Asked whether she had a horse when she was taken, either a charger or a hackney, she answered that she was riding a horse then, a demi-charger (in French *une demi courser*).

Asked who had given her this horse, she answered her king, or his people from the king's money, gave it to her, she had five chargers from the king's money, not counting her hacks, which were more than seven.

Asked whether she had any other riches from her king, besides these horses, she answered she asked

nothing of her king except good arms, good horses, and money to pay the people of her household.

Asked whether she had no treasure, she answered that the ten or twelve thousand worth she had was not much to carry on a war with, very little indeed, and that, she thought, her brothers have. She says that what she has is her king's own money.

Asked what sign she gave the king when she went to him, she replied it was fair and honourable, and most credible, and good, and the richest in the world.

Asked why she would not tell and show the sign, since she herself wanted to have the sign of Catherine de La Rochelle, she answered that she would not have asked to know the sign of the said Catherine, if it had been as well shown before notable ecclesiastics, and others, archbishops and bishops, as her sign was, namely before the archbishop of Rheims, and others whose names she knew not; there were Charles de Bourbon, the Sire de la Trémouille, the Duke d'Alençon, and many other knights who saw and heard it as distinctly as she saw those speaking and standing before her there. Moreover she already knew through St. Catherine and St. Margaret that the affairs of this Catherine were nothing.

Asked whether the sign still exists, she replied yes certainly, and it will last for a thousand years and more. She said the sign is with the king's treasure.

Asked whether it was gold, silver, or precious stone, or a crown, she answered: "I will not tell you, no man could describe a thing so rich as this sign, but the sign you need is for God to deliver me out of your hands, the most certain sign He could show you." Then she said that when she had to leave to see her king she was told by her voices: "Go boldly. when thou art before the king he shall have a good sign to receive and believe in thee."

Asked what reverence she showed the sign when it came to her king, and whether it came from God, she answered that she thanked Our Lord for her deliver-

ance from the trouble arising from the opposition of the clergy of her party, and she knelt down many times. She said that an angel from God, and from none other but Him, bore the sign to her king, and she thanked God many times for this. She said the clergy ceased opposing her when they had recognized the sign.

Asked whether the clergy of her party saw the sign, she answered that when her king and those of his company had seen it and also the angel that bore it, she asked her king if he were content, and he replied yes. And then she left, and went to a little chapel hard by, and heard that after her departure more than three hundred people saw the sign. She added that for her sake, and to stop men from catechizing her, God willed that those of her party who were there should see the sign.

Asked whether her king and she did reverence to the angel when he brought the sign, she answered that she did, she knelt down and uncovered her head.

Monday, March 12th. The Vicar of the Lord Inquisitor is summoned according to the tenor of his new commission.

On the following Monday, March 12th, there appeared in our dwelling at Rouen the religious and discreet brother Jean Le Maître, of the order of Preaching brothers, vicar of the lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France. There were present also the venerable and discreet lords and masters Thomas Fiesvet, Pasquier de Vaulx, doctors of decrees, Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic secretary, and brother Ysambard de La Pierre, of the order of Preaching brothers. We the said bishop reminded the said vicar that at the beginning of the proceedings we had instituted in matters of faith against this woman commonly called *The Maid*, we had required and summoned him to collaborate with us, and offered to communicate to him all the instruments, testimonies and other things pertaining to the matter and trial.

but that he had raised certain difficulties which prevented his collaboration in the trial, since he was appointed for the city and diocese of Rouen alone, whereas the trial was being held before us, by reason of our jurisdiction of Beauvais, in ceded territory. Therefore for the greater certainty of the undertaking and with extreme precaution we, on the advice of learned men, had resolved to write to the lord Inquisitor himself, urging him to return to his city of Rouen or at least to appoint his deputy expressly to this task, and entrust him with complete authority from the lord Inquisitor to undertake and conclude the trial, as is set forth at greater length in the letters above. Now the said lord Inquisitor, upon the receipt of our letters, in benign compliance with our demand and for the honour and exaltation of the orthodox faith, especially appointed and deputed the said brother Jean Le Maître to conduct and conclude the trial in his letters patent secured and confirmed by his seal, of which the tenor follows. Therefore we summon and require the said brother Jean Le Maître, in accordance with the tenor of his commission, to join with us in this trial. Whereupon the said brother answered that he would gladly peruse the commission addressed to him, with the documents of the trial signed by the notaries, and the other things we desired to communicate to him, and would give us, when he had seen and considered them, a reply conforming to his duty on behalf of the holy inquisition. But we told him that he had already been present during a great part of the proceedings, and had heard most of the answers of the said Jeanne, that however we were content and well pleased to communicate to him the process and all that had occurred in the matter, for his perusal and examination.

Follows the tenor of the letters of appointment addressed by the Lord Inquisitor and mentioned above

“To his dear son in Christ brother Jean Le Maître of the order of Preaching brothers, Jean Graverent of

the same order, humble professor of sacred theology and Inquisitor of Heretical Error by apostolic authority in the Kingdom of France, greeting in the author and consummator of our faith, Our Lord Jesus Christ Since the reverend father in Christ the lord bishop of Beauvais has written to us in connexion with a certain woman of the name of Jeanne, commonly called *The Maid*, in his letters patent beginning 'Pierre by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais to the venerable father master Jean Graverent', and since from lawful impediment we cannot now conveniently journey to Rouen, we, being confident in your zeal and discretion in all that concerns our office and the affairs of this woman up to and including the final sentence, have especially appointed you and by the tenor of these present letters do appoint you our vicar, hoping that to the praise of God and the exaltation of the faith and the edification of the people, you will proceed therein with justice and holiness In witness whereof the seal of our office is affixed to these present letters Given at Coutances, March 4th in the year of Our Lord 1431 "

Signed N OGIER

The same Monday, March 12th, in prison

This same Monday morning, we the aforesaid bishop repaired to the chamber assigned as goal for the said Jeanne, where similarly were assembled at the same time the venerable and discreet lords and masters Jean de La Fontaine, our appointed commissary, Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of sacred theology, and witnesses Thomas Fiesvet and Pasquier de Vaultx, doctors of canon law, and Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic secretary, aforementioned

In their presence we required the said Jeanne to swear to answer truthfully what should be asked her She replied that on what touches your case, as she had formerly said, she would willingly speak the truth And in this manner she took the oath

Then she was examined at our command by the said master Jean de La Fontaine : and first whether the angel that brought the sign to her king, as beforesaid, did not speak ; she answered yes, he told the king to set me to the work so that the country might be forthwith relieved.

Asked whether the angel that brought the sign to the king was the same that first appeared to her, or whether it was another, she answered : " It is always the same one, and he never fails me."

Asked whether the angel did not fail her in respect of the good things of fortune, when she was taken, she answered that she thought that since it pleased God, it was better for her to be taken prisoner

Asked whether the angel did not fail her in respect of the good things of grace, she answered : " How should he fail me, when he comforts me every day ? " And she believes, as she says, that this comfort is from St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

Asked whether she calls St. Catherine or St. Margaret or whether they come without being called, she answered : " They often come without my calling," and sometimes if they did not come, she would pray God to send them.

Asked whether she sometimes called them without their coming, she answered that she had never needed them without having them.

Asked whether St. Denis sometimes appeared to her, she answered no, as far as she knew.

Asked whether she spoke to Our Lord when she promised Him to keep her virginity, she answered that it ought to be quite enough to promise it to those who were sent from Him, namely St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

Asked what persuaded her to summon a man from the town of Toul for breach of promise, she answered : " I did not have him summoned ; it was he who summoned me , and I swore before the judge to tell the

truth" And moreover, she said, she had made no promise to this man She added that the first time she heard her voice she vowed to keep her virginity as long as it should please God, and she was then thirteen years old, or thereabouts She said her voices assured her that she would win her case at Toul

Asked if she had not spoken to her priest or any other churchman of the visions which she claimed to have she answered no, save to Robert de Baudricourt and to her king She added that her voices did not compel her to conceal them, but she was afraid of revealing them, afraid that the Burgundians might hinder her journey, and in particular she feared that her father would stop it

Asked if she believed it was right to leave her father and mother without permission, when she should honour her father and mother, she answered that in all other things she was obedient to them, except in this journey, but afterwards she wrote to them, and they forgave her

Asked whether she thought she had committed a sin when she left her father and mother, she answered that since God commanded, it was right to do so She added that since God commanded, if she had had a hundred parents, or had been the king's daughter, she would have gone nevertheless

Asked whether she asked her voices if she should tell her father and mother of her going, she answered that as for her father and mother, the voices were well pleased that she should tell them, but for the difficulty they would have raised if she had done so, and as for herself, she would not have told them for anything She said the voices left it to her to tell her father and mother, or be silent

Asked whether she did reverence to St Michael and the angels, when she saw them, she answered that she did, and kissed the ground where they had stood after they had gone

Asked whether the said angels were long with her,

she answered that they often came among the Christian folk and were not seen, and she often saw them amongst the Christian folk.

Asked whether she had had letters from St. Michael or from her voices, she answered : " I have not leave to tell you : within a week from now I will gladly tell you what I know."

Asked if her voices did not call her *daughter of God, daughter of the Church, daughter great-hearted*, she answered that before the raising of the siege of Orleans, and every day since, when they have spoken to her they have often called her *Jeanne the Maid, daughter of God*.

Asked why, since she calls herself *daughter of God*, she will not willingly say the Paternoster, she answered that she would willingly do so, and that on other occasions when she refused, it was with the intention that we the aforesaid bishop should hear her in confession.

The afternoon of the same Monday, in prison

This same day, Monday, in the afternoon, there were present in the place of the prison of Jeanne the aforementioned lords and masters, Jean de La Fontaine, our commissary, Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feullet, doctors of sacred theology ; Thomas Fiesvet and Pasquier de Vaulx, doctors of canon law, and Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic notary.

The said Jeanne was examined at our order by the said de La Fontaine, and firstly concerning the dreams she declared her father had had before she left his house To which she replied that whilst she was still with her father and mother she was often told by her mother that her father spoke of having dreamed that Jeanne his daughter would go off with men-at-arms ; and her father and mother took great care to keep her safely, and held her in great subjection . and she was obedient to them in all things except in the incident at Toul, the action for marriage. She said she had heard her

mother tell how her father said to her brothers "In truth, if I thought this thing would happen which I have dreamed about my daughter, I should want you to drown her, and if you would not, I would drown her myself" And her father and mother almost lost their senses when she left to go to Vaucouleurs

Asked whether these thoughts and dreams came to her father after she had her visions, she answered yes, more than two years after she first heard the voices

Asked whether it was at the request of Robert de Baudricourt that she first took to a man's dress, she answered that it was of her own accord, and not at the request of any man alive

Asked whether the voice ordered her to wear a man's costume, she answered Everything I have done I have done at the instruction of my voices, and as to the dress, I will answer that another time, at present I am not advised, but to morrow I will answer

Asked whether she thought she was doing wrong in taking to male attire, she answered no, and even at this moment, if she were back with her own party it seems to her that it would be to the great good of France for her to do as she did before her capture

Asked how she would have delivered the Duke of Orleans, she answered that she would have taken enough English prisoners to ransom him, and if she had not taken enough on this side, she would have crossed the sea and fetched him from England, by force

Asked whether St Margaret and St Catherine had told her absolutely and unconditionally that she would take enough prisoners to ransom the Duke of Orleans, who was in England, or that she should cross the sea to fetch him [and within three years bring him back], she answered yes and she told the king to let her have her way with the English lords who were their prisoners She adds that if she had gone on without hindrance for three years she would have delivered the Duke She

says that to do this three years were more than were necessary, and one was too little, but she does not remember it now.

Asked what the sign was which she gave her king, she answered she would take counsel from St Catherine concerning it.

Tuesday, March 13th

The following Tuesday, the thirteenth day of March, we assembled at the same hour in the prison with the venerable and discreet brother Jean Le Maître, and other venerable and discreet lords and masters above named : Jean de La Fontaine, Nicolas Midi, and Gérard Feuillet, and in the presence of Nicolas de Hubent and of Ysambard de La Pierre, of the order of Preaching brothers. The said brother Jean Le Maître, seeing the letters addressed to him by the lord Inquisitor, together with the other circumstances of the matter needing consideration, joined himself with the trial, ready to proceed with us according to law and reason to a further decision of the case. Of this we charitably informed Jeanne, exhorting her and warning her for the salvation of her soul to speak the truth in the trial on everything she was asked. And then the said deputy of the lord Inquisitor, wishing to proceed further in the case, as Promoter of the Holy Inquisition appointed master Jean d'Estivet, canon of the churches of Bayeux and Beauvais, as keepers of the prison the noble John Grey, Squire of the Body Guard of our lord the king, and John Berwoit, as executor of his citations and convocations, master Jean Massieu, priest, the aforementioned we earlier deputed and charged to their several offices, as is shown more fully in the letters confirmed with our seals of which the tenor is given above, and in the letters of the said vicar which are described below. And the said officers took oath before the said vicar to fill their offices faithfully.

Follows the tenor of the letters from the Lord Inquisitor appointing the Promoter

"To all those who shall see these present letters, brother Jean Le Maître, of the order of Preaching brothers, vicar general of the reverend father, lord and master Jean Graverent of the same order, distinguished professor of sacred theology and Inquisitor of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France, and especially delegated by apostolic authority, greeting in the author and consummator of our faith, Our Lord Jesus Christ Whereas the reverend father in Christ Pierre, by divine mercy lord bishop of Beauvais, ordinary judge in this matter and possessor of territory in this town and in the diocese of Rouen, had by his letters patent invited the said reverend father and lord Inquisitor and had summoned and required him in the name of the faith to appear in this city of Rouen if conveniently he could or to please to appoint in his stead us or another suitable person, to conduct, with the reverend father my lord bishop of Beauvais, the trial in matters of faith of this woman commonly known as *The Maid*, called by the said bishop and in his hands And the said reverend father and lord Inquisitor, unable by any means to appear in the town of Rouen, by letters confided to us his powers in this matter, as with other things is shown in his letters also containing the summons and requisition of the said lord bishop, and our commission, and these letters of commission dated the 14th day of March in the year 1430, are signed with the seal of the lord Inquisitor and the sign manual of the venerable master Nicolas Ogier, priest and notary public Therefore we, seeking and desiring humbly to fulfil with all our strength the commission of the said Inquisitor to the glory of God and the exaltation of the orthodox faith, as we are beholden to do, with all our power, having taken the counsel and advice of the lord bishop and of many other learned men, versed in sacred theology and canon and civil law, we declare that for the accomplishment of this

matter it is needful to constitute and appoint on behalf of the Holy Inquisition a promoter, notaries, and an executor of our ordinances, men both kind and eminent. Therefore according to the authority we enjoy in this matter both apostolic and that issuing from the said reverend father the lord Inquisitor, having full confidence in Our Lord and being duly informed of the integrity, zeal, adequacy and capacity of the venerable and discreet person master Jean d'Estivet, priest, canon of the churches of Bayeux and Beauvais, we have made, constituted, named, ordained and charged and we do make, constitute, name, ordain and charge the said master Jean our Promoter or Procurator general, to conduct this case and matter generally and particularly, and we convey to the said Promoter and our Procurator general, by the tenor of these present, licence, faculty, and authority to sit and to appear in court and extrajudicially against the said Jeanne; to give, send, administer, produce and exhibit articles, examinations, testimonies, letters, instruments, and all other forms of proof, to accuse and denounce this Jeanne, to cause and require her to be examined and interrogated, to bring the case to an end, and to promote, procure, conduct, and exercise, all and every act known to be proper to the office of Promoter or Procurator, according to law and custom. Therefore, to whom it may concern, we require obedience, submission, goodwill, towards the said Jean in the exercise of his office, and counsel, help, and aid. In witness of which we have ordered our seal to be affixed to these present letters Given and signed at Rouen in the year of Our Lord 1431, Tuesday, March 13th."

Signed: BOISGUILLAUME. MANCHON.

Here follows the tenor of the letter by which the said Vicar of the Inquisitor constituted Jean Massieu, priest, executor of the convocations and summons necessary in this case

"To all those who shall see these present letters, brother Jean Le Maître, of the order of Preaching

brothers, etc , we, having full confidence in Our Lord and being duly informed of the integrity, zeal, competence, and capacity of master Jean Massieu, priest, dean of the Christendom of Rouen, appointed and constituted in this trial executor of the commands and convocations of the said lord bishop, we have appointed, retained and ordained him executor of the commands and convocations emanating from us herein , and we bestow and have bestowed on him by these present letters all authority thereto In testimony of which we have had our seal affixed to these present letters Given and signed at Rouen in the year of Our Lord 1431, Tuesday the 13th day of March'

So signed BOISGUILLAUME MANCHON

And when this was done as is indicated above, we the said bishop and brother Jean Le Maître, vicar of the Inquisitor, thereupon proceeded together to examine and have examined the said Jeanne, in the manner earlier begun

And first at our command Jeanne was examined upon the sign she gave her king, to which she replied ' Would you be content if I perjured myself ? '

Asked whether she had sworn and promised St Catherine not to tell this sign, she answered " I have sworn and promised not to tell this sign, of my own accord, because I was too much pressed to tell it And then she promised to herself not to speak of it further to any man She says that the sign was that an angel assured her king by bringing him the crown and saying he should possess the whole and entire kingdom of France, by the help of God and the labours of the said Jeanne , and he was to put Jeanne to work, that is to say, to give her men at arms, else he would not be so soon crowned and consecrated

Asked whether she had since yesterday spoken with St Catherine, she answered she had heard her since then, and notwithstanding was told many times to

answer the Judges boldly what they should ask her touching the case

Asked how the angel brought the crown, and whether he placed it on the king's head, she answered that it was given to an archbishop, namely the archbishop of Rheims, so it seemed to her, in the presence of her king : and the said archbishop received it and gave it to her king ; and Jeanne herself was present. And the said crown was put in the king's treasure.

Asked about the place where the crown was brought, she answered that it was in the king's chamber in the castle of Chinon.

Asked on what day and at what hour, she answered that of the day she knew nothing, and of the hour, it was late , beyond that she could not recall the hour. And it was in the month of April or March, she thought. She said that in the present month of March or next April it will be two years ago, and it was after Easter.

Asked whether the first day she saw the sign her king also saw it, she answered yes, and he himself received it.

Asked what the crown was made of, she answered it was good to know it was of pure gold , and the crown was so rich and precious that she did not know how to count or appreciate its riches ; and it signified that her king would gain the kingdom of France.

Asked whether there were precious stones in it, she answered : " I have told you what I know of it."

Asked whether she had held or kissed the crown, she answered no.

Asked whether the angel who had brought this crown had come from on high, or from the earth, she answered . " He came from on high," and she understood that he came by Our Lord's command : and he entered the room by the door

Asked whether the angel who brought the crown came from earth, she answered that when the angel came before the king, he did the king reverence by bowing before him and pronouncing the words of the sign that

Comment la pucele vint deuers le roy



THE MAID BEFORE THE KING

Woodcut from the *Vigilles de Charles VII*, printed by Jehan Dupre 1493

(Courtesy of Messrs Sheed & Ward)

Jeanne said above And with this the angel recalled to the king the sweet patience he had shown in the many great tribulations which had befallen him And from the door the angel stepped and walked upon the ground and moved towards her king

Asked what space there was between the door and the place where her king then was, she answered that as far as she knew, there was the space of a good lance-length, and the said angel went out by the way he had come She said that when the angel came she accompanied him and went with him by the stairs to the king's chamber, and the angel went in first, and then she herself, and Jeanne said to her king 'Sire, here is your sign, take it'

Asked in what place the angel appeared to her, she answered 'I was nearly always prying that God would send the king's sign, and I was in my lodging, in the house of a good woman, near the castle of Chinon, when the angel came, and afterwards we went together to the king, and the angel was well accompanied by other angels whom no one saw' And she added that had it not been for love of her and to release her from the distress of them that opposed her, she thought that many who saw the angel would not have seen him

Asked whether all who were there with the king saw the angel, she answered that she thought the archbishop of Rheims, the Lords d'Alençon, de la Trémouille, and Charles de Bourbon saw him, and many churchmen and others saw the crown who did not see the angel

Asked of what appearance and size the said angel was, she answered she had not leave to tell that, and she would answer on the morrow

Asked if all the angels who were in the company of the angel were of the same appearance, she answered that some of them were fairly like one another, and some were not, as far as she could see, some had wings or were crowned, others were not, and in their company were St Catherine and St Margaret who were with the

said angel and the other angels up to the very chamber of the king.

Asked how the angel left her, she answered that he left her in a little chapel ; and she was much vexed at his leaving , she wept and would gladly have gone with him, that is her soul would have gone

Asked whether at the angel's departure she remained happy [afraid or in great terror], she answered that he did not leave her in fear, or trembling ; but she was vexed at his leaving

Asked whether it was for any merit of hers that God sent her His angel, she answered that he came for a great purpose, in hope that the king would believe the sign, and men would cease opposing her, and to help the good people of Orleans ; and he came also for the merits of her king and the good Duke of Orleans.

Asked why he had come to her rather than to another, she answered that it pleased God so to do by a simple maid, to drive back the king's enemies.

Asked whether she had been told whence the angel had taken the crown, she answered that it was brought from God, and no goldsmith on earth could have made one so rich and fair ; but as for where the angel had taken it from, she referred herself to God, and knew nothing concerning it beyond that.

Asked if the crown had a good odour, and whether it glittered, she answered that she did not remember, and would think it over. Afterwards she said that it was of good odour and would always be so, as long as it was well and duly guarded ; and it was in the form of a crown.

Asked whether the angel had written her letters, she answered no

Asked what sign the king had, and the people who were with him and her, to persuade them it was an angel who brought the crown, she answered that the king believed it by the teaching of the clergy who were there, and by the sign of the crown.

Asked how the clergy knew that it was an angel, she answered that they knew it by their learning and because they were clerks

Asked about a married priest and a lost cup which she was said to have pointed out, she answered that of all this she knew nought, nor had ever heard talk of it

Asked whether when she went before Paris she had a revelation from her voices bidding her to go there, she answered no, but she went at the request of nobles who wanted to make an attack, in French *une escarmouche*, or an assault-at arms, and she intended to go beyond and cross the trenches of the town of Paris

Asked whether she had any revelation concerning her going before the town of La Charité, she answered no, she went at the request of the soldiers, as she answered elsewhere

Asked whether she had any revelation concerning her going to Pont l'Évêque, she answered that after it had been revealed to her at the trenches of Melun that she would be captured, she usually deferred to the captains upon the questions of war, yet she did not tell them it had been revealed that she would be captured

Asked whether it was right to attack the town of Paris on the day of the Festival of the Blessed Mary, she answered that it was good to observe the Festival of the Blessed Mary, and it seemed to her in her conscience good to keep the Festival of Our Lady from beginning to end

Asked whether she had not said before the town of Paris Surrender this town, in Jesus name! she answered no, but she had said Surrender it to the king of France

Wednesday, March 14th The Vicar of the Lord Inquisitor appoints a notary

The following Wednesday, the fourteenth day of the month of March, we, brother Jean Le Maître above named, vicar of the lord Inquisitor, having confidence

in the industry and integrity of the venerable and discreet person master Nicolas Taquel, priest of the diocese of Rouen, notary public by imperial authority, and sworn notary at the archiepiscopal court of Rouen, and having full confidence in Our Saviour, we retained, elected and ordained the said Nicolas notary and secretary in this trial, as is shown in more detail in our letters patent, sealed with our seal and bearing the sign manual of our notary public, of which the tenor is transcribed below. And the next day in the prison of the said Jeanne, where we had assembled and where we required him faithfully to exercise his office, the said master Nicolas took oath before us in the presence of master Jean de La Fontaine, of Nicolas Midi, of Gérard Feuillet, and of many others.

Follows the tenor of the letters appointing the said notary

"To all those who shall see these present letters, brother Jean Le Maître of the order of Preaching brothers, having full confidence in God and the integrity, zeal, competence and aptitude of the discreet person master Nicolas Taquel, priest of the diocese of Rouen, we have retained, elected and ordained the said master Nicolas, sworn notary of ourselves and the lord Inquisitor, and by these present letters we retain, elect and ordain him our secretary and notary, giving him licence, faculty and authority to visit the said Jeanne and all other places where she shall be, to question, or hear her questioned, to swear in any witness produced, to examine the confessions and statements of the said Jeanne and other witnesses, to set down in writing, for our benefit, the verbal opinions of the doctors and masters, to put in writing each and every one of the occurrences of the trial, and to draw up in due form the entire proceedings, performing everything pertaining to the office of notary, whenever and wherever possible. In witness whereof we have affixed our seal to these present letters. Given at Rouen March 14th in the year of Our Lord, 1431."

Signed: BOISGUILLAUME. G. MANCHON.

The same day in the prison

The same day in the presence of master Jean de La Fontaine, commissary appointed by us the aforementioned bishop and by brother Jean Le Maître aforesaid, in the prison of the said Jeanne in the castle of Rouen, and in the presence of the assessors, venerable and discreet lords and masters Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of theology, and also of Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic notary, and of brother Ysambard de La Pierre, witnesses, Jeanne was examined

And first why she jumped from the tower at Beaurevoir She answered that she had heard that the people of Compiègne, all of them to the age of seven years, were to be put to fire and to the sword, and she would rather die than live after such a destruction of good people That was one reason why she jumped the other was that she knew she had been sold to the English, and she would have died rather than fall into the hands of her enemies the English

Asked whether the leap was made at the counsel of her voices, she answered that St Catherine told her almost every day not to jump, and God would help her, and the people of Compiègne too And Jeanne told St Catherine that since God was going to help the people of Compiègne, she wanted to be there And St Catherine said You must be resigned and not falter, you will not be delivered until you have seen the King of the English Jeanne answered Truly I do not want to see him, and I would rather die than fall into the hands of the English "

Asked whether she said to St Catherine and St Margaret these words Will God let the good people of Compiègne die so wretchedly? she answered that she did not say *so wretchedly*, but 'How can God let these good people of Compiègne die who have been and are so faithful to their Lord?' She said that after falling from the tower, for two or three days she was

without food, and so injured by the leap that she could not eat or drink ; yet she was comforted by St. Catherine who told her to confess and ask God to forgive her for having jumped out, and the people of Compiègne would have succour before St. Martin's Day in winter without fail. Then she began to get well, and to eat, and soon afterwards recovered.

Ask whether when she leapt she expected to kill herself, she answered no, for as she leaped she commended herself to God. And she hoped that by the leap she would escape and not be delivered to the English.

Asked whether when she regained her speech she denied God and His Saints, since this is stated in the evidence, she answered that she did not remember that she had ever denied God and His saints, or blasphemed, there or elsewhere.

Asked whether she wished to abide by the evidence, she answered : " I leave it to God and none other, and a good confession "

Asked if her voices wanted delay in which to answer, she said that St. Catherine sometimes answered her but that she, Jeanne, failed to understand on account of the noise of the prison and the tumult made by her guards. And when she makes a request to St Catherine, then she and St. Margaret take the request to God and then by God's order they give answer to Jeanne

Asked whether when the saints come to her there comes a light with them, and whether she did not see the light when she heard the voice in the castle, and did not know whether it was in her room : she answered that there is not a day when they do not come to the castle, nor do they come without a light. And as to the voice in question she does not remember whether she saw a light, or St Catherine either. She says that she asked three things of her voices : one was her deliverance ; the second was that God should aid the French and keep the towns which were under their control , and the third was the salvation of her soul. She asks that

if she is taken to Paris she may have a copy of the questions and of her replies, so that she may give them to the people at Paris and say to them 'Thus was I questioned at Rouen, and here are my replies', and may not be worried again over so many questions

And then since she had said that we the aforementioned bishop were exposing ourselves to great peril, in French *en grant dangier*, by bringing her to trial, she was asked what that meant, and to what peril or danger we exposed ourselves, we and the others. She answered that she had said to us the aforesaid bishop, 'You say that you are my judge, I do not know if you are, but take good heed not to judge me ill, because you would put yourself in great peril. And I warn you so that if God punish you for it I shall have done my duty in telling you

Asked what that danger or peril was, she answered that St Catherine told her she would have aid, and she does not know whether this will be her deliverance from prison, or if, whilst she is being tried, some tumult might come through which she can be delivered. And she thinks it will be one or the other. And beyond this the voices told her she will be delivered by a great victory and then they said 'Take everything peacefully have no care for thy martyrdom, in the end thou shalt come to the Kingdom of Paradise.' And this her voices told her simply and absolutely, that is, without faltering. And her martyrdom she called the pain and adversity which she suffers in prison, and she knows not whether she shall yet suffer greater adversity, but therein she commits herself to God.

Asked whether, since her voices had told her that in the end she should go to Paradise, she has felt assured of her salvation, and of not being damned in hell, she answered that she firmly believed what the voices told her, namely that she will be saved, as firmly as if she were already there.

Asked whether after this revelation she believed that she could not commit mortal sin, she answered I

do not know , but in everything I commit myself to God." And when she was told that this was an answer of great weight, she answered that she held it for a great treasure.

The same Wednesday afternoon in the prison

The same Wednesday, in the afternoon, there appeared in the said place the venerable and discreet persons the lords and masters above named, Jean de La Fontaine, appointed by ourself and by Jean Le Maître, vicar of the lord Inquisitor, the assessors Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctors in theology , and there were present also brother Ysambard de La Pierre and Jean Manchon

And the said Jeanne first answered, concerning the immediately preceding article relative to the certainty she felt of her salvation, upon which she had been examined in the morning, that she intended the reply in this way : provided she kept her oath and promise to Our Lord, that is, to keep safe her virginity, of body and of soul

Asked whether she need confess, since she believed by the revelation of her voices that she will be saved, she answers that she does not know of having committed mortal sin, but if she were in mortal sin, she thinks St. Catherine and St. Margariet would at once abandon her. And she believes, in answer to the preceding article, that one cannot cleanse one's conscience too much.

Asked whether since she has been in this prison she has not denied or blasphemed God, she answered no , but sometimes when she said in French '*Bon gré Dieu,*' or '*saint Jehan,*' or '*Noître Dame*', those who reported the words may have misunderstood.

Asked whether it was not mortal sin to take a man at ransom and to put him to death, a prisoner, she answered that she had not done that.

And since mention was made to her of a certain Franquet d'Arras, who was put to death at Lagny,

she answered that she was consenting to his death if he had deserved it, since he had confessed himself a murderer, a thief, and a traitor. She said his trial lasted a fortnight, and he had for judges the Bailly de Senlis and a jury of the people of Lagny. And she said she had asked to have Franquet exchanged for a man from Paris, the landlord of the *Bear Inn*, and when she heard of the death of the landlord and the Bailly had told her she would be doing great wrong to justice by delivering this Franquet, she said to the Bailly

As the man I wanted is dead, do with this fellow as justice demands'

Asked if she sent money, or had money sent, to him who had taken the said Franquet, she answered that she is not Master of the Mint or Treasurer of France that she should pay out money

And, when she was reminded that she had attacked Paris on a Feast Day, that she had had the horse of the lord Bishop of Senlis, that she had thrown herself from the tower at Beaurevoir that she wore a man's dress, that she was consenting to the death of Franquet d'Arras she was asked whether she did not believe she had committed mortal sin she answered firstly, concerning the attack on Paris, 'I do not think I am in mortal sin,' and if she were, it is for God, and the priest in confession, to know it

And secondly, concerning the horse, she answered that she firmly believes she did not therein commit mortal sin against God for the horse was valued at 200 gold *saluts*, of which he received the assignment nevertheless the horse was sent back to the Sire de la Tremouille, to restore it to the Bishop of Senlis nor was the said horse of any use to her for riding. Moreover it was not she who took it from the bishop. She added that for another thing she did not wish to keep it, since she heard that the bishop was displeased that his horse had been taken, and besides that, the horse was useless for men-at-arms. Finally and in conclusion

Jeanne knew not whether the bishop was paid the assignation made to him, nor whether his horse was returned to him ; she thought not.

And thirdly, concerning her fall from the tower at Beaurevoir, she answered : " I did it not out of despair, but in hope of saving my body and of going to the aid of many good people in need." And after the leap she confessed herself and asked pardon of God. And this she received, and she believes it was not good, but rather wrong, to make that leap. She knew she had been forgiven from a revelation of St. Catherine's after her confession, at whose advice she confessed herself.

Asked whether she received any great penance, she answered that a large part of her penance was the hurt she did herself in falling.

Asked whether she thought this wrong she did herself to be mortal sin, she answered that she knows nothing about that, and refers herself to God

And fourthly, concerning the man's dress she wears, she answered . " Since I do it by God's command and in His service I do not think I do wrong ; and so soon as it shall please God to command I will put it off."

Thursday, March 15th, in prison

The morning of the Thursday next following, the fifteenth day of March, in the prison of the said Jeanne, master Jean de La Fontaine, our appointed commissary, Ourself, and brother Jean Le Maître, vicar of the Inquisitor, presiding ; with the venerable Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, doctor of sacred theology, and in presence of Nicolas de Hubent, apostolic notary, and brother Ysambard de La Pierre.

The said Jeanne was charitably exhorted, admonished, and required to be willing to refer to the decision of Our Holy Mother the Church, as she ought, in the event of her having done anything contrary to our faith. She answered that her replies should be seen and examined by the clergy, and then she should be told if there were

anything contrary to the Christian faith she will be able to tell certainly what it is, and then she will tell what she learned from her counsel. Moreover if there were any evil against Christian faith advanced by Our Lord, she would not wish to sustain it, and would be grieved to be in opposition.

Then the distinction between the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant was declared to her, what the one was, and what the other, and she was required therefrom to submit to the decision of the Church whatever she had said or done whether good or evil. She replied

I will not give you any further answer for the present.

Jeanne was required, upon the oath she had sworn, to tell how she expected to escape from the castle of Beaulieu between two pieces of wood. she answered she was never a prisoner in any place but she would gladly escape, and being in the castle she would have shut up her keepers in the tower, had not the porter seen and encountered her. She saw that it seemed that it did not please God to have her escape on that occasion, and she must see the English king, as her voices had told her, and as it is written above.

Asked if she had leave from God or from her voices to escape from prisons whenever it pleased her, she answered

I have often asked for it, but so far I have not obtained it.

Asked whether she would go now, if she saw her opportunity, she answered that if she saw the door open she would go, and it would be God's permission. And she firmly believes that if she saw the door open, and her keepers and the other English unable to resist, she would take it as her permission, and that God had sent her aid, but without leave she would not go, unless she made a forcible attempt, in French *une entreprise*, to discover whether God was pleased, giving as reason this proverb in the French tongue *Aide toy, Dieu te aidera*. And this she said so that if she escaped none could say she did so without leave.

Asked, since she had wished to hear Mass, whether it did not seem to her more fitting to be in female costume, and which she would prefer, to wear a woman's dress and be at the Mass, or to keep to a man's dress and not hear Mass, she answered : " Promise me that I may hear Mass if I wear a woman's dress, and I will answer you."

Then the examiner said to her : " I promise that you may hear Mass, if you are in a woman's dress " She answered : " And what do you answer, if I have sworn and promised to our king not to put off this dress ? Yet I will tell you : have made for me a long dress reaching down to the ground, without a train, and give it to me to go to Mass ; and then, on my return, I will put on once again the dress I have "

Asked once and for all, whether she would wear a woman's dress and go to hear Mass, she answered . " I will have counsel on it, and then I will answer you." Moreover, she urged us that for the honour of God and of Our Lady she be permitted to hear Mass in this good town.

Whereupon she was told by the examiner that she should take a woman's dress, simply and absolutely. She replied " Give me a dress such as the daughters of your burgesses wear, a long *houppelande* [and also a woman's hood] and I will wear it to go and hear Mass " She added that as urgently as she could she besought us to permit her to hear Mass in the dress she wore, without any change.

Asked if, on that which she had said and done, she will submit and commit herself to the decision of the Church, she answered . " Everything I have said or done is in the hand of God, and I commit myself to Him. And I certify to you that I would do or say nothing against the Christian faith , and, if I had said or done anything, or if anything were found on me which the clergy should declare to be against the Christian faith established by Our Lord, I would not uphold it, but would cast it out."

Asked if she would submit herself therein to the ordinance of the Church, she answered "I will not now answer you more but on Saturday next send me the priest, if you do not wish to come, and I will answer him this with God's aid, and it shall be set down in writing."

Asked whether when her voices came to her she bowed down to them altogether, as to a saint, she answers yes and if sometimes she had failed to do so, she had afterwards asked forgiveness. Nor could she do them the reverence proper to them, for she firmly believes them to be St Catherine and St Margaret. And she said likewise concerning St Michael.

Asked whether, since candles were commonly offered to the Saints of Paradise, she has not burnt candles or other things, in church or elsewhere, or had Masses said, to the saints who visit her, she answered no, except at Mass, in the priest's hand, and in honour of St Catherine. She believes it to be one of them who appear to her, nor has she lit as many candles to St Catherine and St Margaret as she gladly would, firmly believing it is they who come to her.

Asked whether when she puts the candles before the image of St Catherine she does it in honour of her who appears to her, she answered "I do it in honour of God, of Our Lady, of St Catherine who is in heaven, and I make no difference between St Catherine who is in heaven and her who appears to me."

Asked if she always did or accomplished what her voices bade her, she answered that with all her might she accomplished the behest which Our Lord spoke through her voices, as far as she could understand. And they bade her nothing without the good pleasure of Our Lord.

Asked if in battle she had done anything without the permission of her voices, she answered "You have my answer to this. Read your book carefully, and you will find it. Yet she said that at the request of men-

at-arms she made an attack before Paris and also before La Charité at her king's request. This was neither against nor according to the command of her voices.

Asked if ever she did anything contrary to their command and will, she answered that she did what she could and knew, to the best of her power. And as for her leap from the tower at Beaurevoir, she did it against their bidding, she could not help herself; and when her voices saw her need, and that she could in no way hold herself back, they lent aid to her life and prevented her from being killed. Moreover, whatever she did in her great ventures, they succoured her, and this is a sign that they are good spirits.

Asked if she had any other sign that they were good spirits, she answered: "St Michael certified it before they came to me."

Asked how she knew it was St. Michael, she answered: "By the angels' speech and tongue." She firmly believes that they were angels.

Asked how she recognized that they were angels, she answered she believed it very soon and had the desire to believe it. And she said further that St. Michael, when he came to her, told her that St. Catherine and St. Margaret would come to her, that she should follow their counsel, and that they were instructed to lead her and advise her what she had to do; and that she should believe what they said, for it was at Our Lord's Command.

Asked how she would tell if he were a good or bad spirit if the Enemy put himself in the form and guise of an angel, she answered that she would certainly know whether it was St. Michael or a counterfeit in his likeness.

At first she said she had grave doubts whether it was St. Michael; and the first time she was afraid, and she saw him many times before she knew it was St. Michael.

Asked how she knew then rather than on the first occasion that it was St. Michael who had appeared to her, she answered that the first time she was a young girl and was afraid, since then St. Michael taught her

and showed her so many things that she firmly believed it was he

Asked what doctrine he taught her, she answered that in all things he told her to be a good child and God would help her, and, among other things, he told her she should go to the aid of the King of France. A great part of what the angel taught her is in this book, and the angel told her of the pity that was in the Kingdom of France

Asked about the height and stature of this angel, she said she will reply on Saturday with the other matter, namely what shall please God

Asked if she does not believe it to be a great sin to anger St Catherine and St Margaret who appear to her, and to do contrary to their bidding, she answers yes, but she knows how to atone for it, what angered them most of all was the leap at Beaurevoir, wherein she asked their forgiveness, and for other offences she had committed against them

Asked if St Catherine and St Margaret would not take bodily vengeance for this offence, she answered that she does not know, and has not asked them

Asked why she formerly said, that for speaking truth one is sometimes hanged, and if she knew of any crime or fault in her through which she might or ought to die, were she to confess, she answered no

Saturday, March 17th, in prison

The following Saturday, the 17th day of March, before master Jean de La Fontaine, appointed by ourselves the aforesaid bishop and the said Jean Le Maître, vicar of the Inquisitor, in the presence of the venerable and discreet lords and masters Nicolas Midi, and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of theology, of Ysambard de La Pierre and Jean Massieu, the said Jeanne was required to take oath and took oath

Asked then in what guise and shape, size and dress, St Michael came to her, she answered He was in

the guise of a most upright man ” , and touching the dress and other things she would answer no more. As for the angels, she saw them with her own eyes, and they would not get any more from her than that.

She said she believes what St Michael, who appeared to her, did or said, as firmly as she believes that Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death and passion for us. She was moved to believe it by the good counsel, comfort and good teaching which he gave her

Asked if she wished to submit all her acts or sayings, either good or evil, to the decision of Our Mother the Church, she answered that she loved the Church and would support it with all her might for the Christian Faith and she was not a person to be forbidden to go to church or hear Mass As for the good works she did, and her coming, she must commit herself to the King of Heaven who sent her to Charles, son of Charles King of France, who should be King of France “ And you will see ”, she said, “ that the people of France will soon win a great undertaking which God will send, and which will shake almost the whole kingdom of France ” And she said this so that when it should happen men might recall that she had foretold it

Required to give the date of this event, she answered . “ I refer to Our Lord.”

Asked if she would submit to the decision of the Church, she answered “ I commit myself to Our Lord, Who sent me, to Our Lady, and to all the Blessed Saints of Paradise ” And she thought that our Lord and the Church were all one, and therein they ought not to make difficulties for her. “ Why do you make difficulties when it is all one ? ”

Then she was told that there is the Church Triumphant, where God is with the saints and the souls who are already saved ; and also the Church Militant, that is Our Holy Father the Pope, vicar of God on earth, the Cardinals, the prelates of the Church, and the clergy and all the good Christians and Catholics : and this Church

in good assembly cannot err and is governed by the Holy Spirit. Therefore she was asked if she would submit to the Church Militant, namely the Church on earth which is so called. She answered that she came to the King of France in God's name, and in the name of the Blessed Virgin and of all the Blessed Saints of Paradise, and of the Church Victorious above, and at their command, to that Church she submitted all her good deeds and all she had done or should do. And concerning her submission to the Church Militant she would answer nothing more.

Asked on the subject of the woman's dress offered her so that she might hear Mass, she answered that she would not put it on till it should please Our Lord. And if it be that she must be brought to judgment she requests the Lords of the Church to grant her the mercy of a woman's dress and a hood for her head, she would die rather than turn back from what Our Lord commanded her, she firmly believed God would not let her be brought so low, or be presently without His help or miracle.

Asked why, if she wore man's dress at God's bidding, she asked for a woman's robe in the event of her death, she answered: 'It is enough for me that it be long.'

Asked if her godmother, who saw the fairies, was held to be a wise woman, she answered that she was held and reputed to be an honest woman, and not a witch or sorceress.

Asked whether her saying she would take a woman's dress if they would let her go would please God, she answered that if she were given permission to go in woman's dress she would immediately put on man's dress and do what Our Lord bade her. So she had formerly answered and nothing would induce her to swear not to take up arms or to wear man's dress, to accomplish our Lord's will.

Asked about the age of the garments worn by St Catherine and St Margaret, she answered: 'You

already have my reply on this matter, and you will get none other from me. I have answered you as best I can."

Asked if she did not believe heretofore that the fairies were evil spirits, she answered she knew nothing of that.

Asked how she knew that St. Catherine and St. Margaret hated the English, she answered : " They love those whom God loves, and hate whom He hates "

Asked if God hated the English, she answered that of God's love or His hatred for the English, or of what He would do to their souls, she knew nothing, but she was certain that, excepting those who died there, they would be driven out of France, and God would send victory to the French and against the English.

Asked if God was for the English when they were prospering in France, she answered that she knew not whether God hated the French, but she believed it was His will to suffer them to be beaten for their sins, if they were in a state of sin

Asked what warrant and what help she expected to have from Our Lord by the fact that she wore man's dress, she answered that in this as in other things she sought only the salvation of her soul.

Asked what arms she offered in the church of St. Denis, she answered that she offered a whole suit of white armour, in French *un blanc harnois*, fitting for a man-at-arms, with the sword she won before Paris.

Asked to what end she offered these arms, she answered it was out of devotion, according to the habit of soldiers when they are wounded : and because she had been wounded before Paris, she offered them to St. Denis, because it was the war-cry of France.

Asked if she did it so that the arms might be worshipped, she said no.

Asked what was the purpose of the five crosses which were on the sword she found at Ste. Catherine-de-Fierbois, she answered she knew nothing of it.

Asked who persuaded her to have angels with their

arms, feet, legs, and robes painted on her standard, she answered "You have my reply to that"

Asked if she had painted the angels who came to her, she answered she had them painted in the fashion in which they were painted in churches

Asked if ever she saw them, in the manner in which they were painted, she answered "I will not tell you more

Asked why the light which came with the angels or voices was not painted, she answered that it was not commanded her

The afternoon of the same day, in prison

The same Saturday afternoon, in the presence of ourself and the Vice-Inquisitor, and of the venerable and discreet doctors and masters Jean Beaupere, Jacques de Turon, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice and Gérard Feullet, doctors of sacred theology, and of Thomas de Courcelles, bachelor of theology, of Jean de La Fontaine, licentiate in canon law, appointed by us, and of brother Ysambard de La Pierre and of John Grey above mentioned

The said Jeanne was questioned if the two angels who were painted on her standard were St Michael and St Gabriel She answered that they were there solely for the honour of Our Lord who was painted on the standard And the representation of the two angels was solely for the honour of Our Lord, who was painted holding the world

Asked if the two angels on her standard were the two angels who guard the world, and why there were not more, seeing that she was bidden to take this standard in the name of Our Lord, she answered that the whole standard was commanded by Our Lord, by the voices of St Catherine and of St Margaret, who said to her

"Take the standard in the name of the King of Heaven"
And because they told her "Take the standard in the name of the King of Heaven", she had the figure of

Our Lord and the angels painted in colour on it. All this she did at God's command.

Asked if she questioned her saints whether in virtue of this standard she would win all battles in which she fought, and would be victorious, she answered they told her to take it boldly, and God would help her.

Asked who was of more help, she to the standard or the standard to her, she answered that whether the victory was hers or the standard's, it was all for Our Lord

Asked if the hope of victory was founded on the standard or on herself, she answered . " It was founded on Our Lord, and not elsewhere "

Asked whether if anyone else had carried the standard he would have been as fortunate as she herself, she answered : " I do not know, and I leave it to Our Lord "

Asked whether if one of her party had sent her his standard to carry, and particularly if she had been sent the king's standard, and she had carried it, she would have had as firm a hope in that as in her own, which was given her in God's Name, she answered : " I more gladly bore that which was bidden me in God's Name ; yet in all I committed myself to God "

Asked what was the purpose of the sign she put on her letters, and the names JHESUS MARIA, she answered that the clerks writing her letters put them there ; and some said it was proper to put the two words JHESUS MARIA

Asked whether it had not been revealed to her that she would lose her good fortune if she lost her virginity, and that her voices would no longer come to her, she answered : " That has not been revealed to me "

Asked whether she believed her voices would come to her if she were married, she answered . " I do not know and I commit myself to Our Lord."

Asked if she thought and firmly believed that her king did right to kill or cause to be killed My Lord the Duke of Burgundy, she answered that it was a great pity for

the kingdom of France , but whatever there had been between these two princes, God had sent her to the aid of the King of France

Asked touching her saying that she would answer us the said bishop and also our Commissaries as she would answer before our Holy Father the Pope, notwithstanding that there were several queries to which she would not reply, and whether she would not answer more fully before the Pope than she had done before us, she replied that she had answered everything as faithfully as she could , and if she knew anything which came to her mind that she had not said she would willingly tell it

Asked whether it did not seem to her that she was bound to answer the whole truth to the Pope, the Vicar of God, concerning all that she should be asked on matters of faith and the state of her conscience, she answered that she demanded to be led before him, and then she would answer before him all that was required

Asked of what substance one of her rings was, on which the words JHESUS MARIA were written, she answered that she did not properly know , and if it was of gold, it was not of fine gold and she did not know whether it was of gold or brass, she thought there were three crosses, and to her knowledge no other signs save the words JHESUS MARIA

Asked why she gladly looked at this ring when she was going to battle, she answered that it was out of pleasure, and in honour of her father and mother , and having her ring in her hand and on her finger she touched St Catherine who appeared before her

Asked what part of St Catherine she had touched, she answered ' You will get no answer from me '

Asked if she ever kissed or touched St Catherine or St Margaret, she answered she had touched them both

Asked if they had a fine odour, she answered it is well to know that they had

Asked whether when embracing them she felt heat or

anything else, she answered that she could not embrace them without feeling and touching them.

Asked where she embraced them, whether their head or their feet, she answered : " It is more fitting to embrace their feet "

Asked if she had not given them chaplets of flowers, she answered that many times in their honour before their images and pictures in churches she had given them chaplets, but as for those who appeared to her she had no memory of giving chaplets to them

Asked whether when she hung garlands on the aforementioned tree she put them there in honour of those who appeared to her, she answered no.

Asked whether she did not do the saints reverence when they came to her by kneeling or bowing down, she answered yes , she did them reverence as often as she could because she knew well that they were of the kingdom of Paradise

Asked if she knew anything of those who consort with fairies, she answered that she was never there nor knew anything of it, but she had heard talk of them, how they went on Thursdays , but she did not believe in it and thought it was witchcraft.

Asked whether her standard was not made to wave above the king's head when he was crowned at Rheims, she answered no, so far as she knew.

Asked why her standard was carried into the church at Rheims at the consecration, rather than those of the other captains, she answered . " It had been present in the perils , that was reason enough for it to be honoured."

Passion Sunday, March 18th. The statements are presented to the assessors

On the Sunday of the Passion of Our Lord, the following day, March 18th, before Us and brother Jean Le Maître, Vice-Inquisitor, in our episcopal dwelling at Rouen, and in the presence of the reverend brothers and masters, Gilles, abbot of Fécamp, Pierre, prior of Longue-

ville, Jean Beaupere, Jacques de Turon, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, and Gerard Feuillet, doctors of sacred theology, and of Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law, Nicolas de Venderes and Jean de La Fontaine, licentiates in canon law, Nicolas Coupequesne and Thomas de Courcelles, bachelors of sacred theology, we, the said bishop recalled how the said Jeanne had been interrogated for many days and that many of her confessions and answers had been put down in writing, and asked the assessors to lend us their deliberation and counsel touching the manner of our further procedure in this matter. And we had read to them certain assertions extracted by different lawyers at our order from the replies which the said Jeanne had made so that they might more clearly view the matter and more certainly deliberate upon what was to be done.

These lords having heard this exposition solemnly and maturely deliberated. After having heard all their opinions we concluded and agreed that they should each one examine and diligently study and consult in authoritative books the opinions of doctors on these statements so that the following Thursday we might confer thereon, bringing each one his opinion, and that meanwhile certain articles should be drawn up from the examination and replies of the said Jeanne which should be preferred against her in court before us her judges.

Thursday the 22nd of March Decision to extract a smaller number of articles from the statements

The following Thursday the twenty-second of March, in our episcopal dwelling at Rouen, before us, and before brother Jean Le Maître, Vice-Inquisitor, there appeared the venerable lords and masters Jean de Chatillon, Erard Emengart, Guillaume Le Boucher, Pierre, prior of Longueville, Jean Beaupere, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Maurice du Quesnay, Pierre Houdenc, Jean de Nibat, Jean Le Fevre, Pierre Maurice, Jacques Guesdon, and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of sacred

theology ; Raoul Roussel, treasurer of the church of Rouen, doctor of canon and civil law ; Nicolas de Venderès, archdeacon of Eu, and Jean de La Fontaine, licentiates in canon law , William Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne and Thomas de Courcelles, bachelors of sacred theology ; Nicolas Loiseleur, canon of the church of Rouen ; and brother Ysambard de La Pierre, of the order of Preaching brothers.

To those who were met before us certain reports on this matter were communicated, compiled, drawn up and put forward by learned doctors and lawyers. After having seen and heard the opinions of each one and having at length considered them we concluded and decreed that what had been extracted from the register of the confessions of Jeanne should be drawn up in a smaller number of articles in the form of statements and propositions, the which articles should then be given to each of the doctors and lawyers so that they might more easily give their opinions. As for the rest, to wit whether Jeanne should be examined and interrogated further, we should proceed in such a way that by God's help the matter should be conducted to the praise of Our Lord and to the exaltation of the faith, so that our trial might be without flaw.

Saturday the twenty-fourth of March. The interrogations are read in Jeanne's presence

The following Saturday the twenty-fourth day of March in Jeanne's prison, before master Jean de La Fontaine, the commissary appointed by ourselves, the said bishop and brother Jean Le Maître, vicar of the lord Inquisitor, and in the presence of the venerable lords and masters Jean Beaupère, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feullet, doctors ; of master Thomas de Courcelles, bachelor of sacred theology, and master Enguerrand de Champrond, official of Coutances , the register containing the interrogations and replies of the said Jeanne was read before her in French by Guillaume

Manchon the undersigned notary But before the reading was begun the Promoter appointed by us and named above, who was present, undertook to prove (in the event that the said Jeanne should deny having made certain of the replies collected in the register) that everything it contained, the questions as well as the replies, had been truly said and done After this Jeanne took oath to add nothing but the truth to her replies

Then whilst this was being read to her she said that her surname was d'Arc or Rommée, and that in her part girls bore their mother's surname She asked also that the questions and answers should be read consecutively to her and that which was read without contradiction on her part she allowed to be true and confessed

She added these words to the article touching her taking woman's dress Give me a woman's dress to go to my mother's house, and I will take it This she would do to escape from prison, and when she was outside she would take counsel concerning what she should do

Finally, after the contents of the register had been read to her the said Jeanne confessed that she believed she had spoken well according to what had been written in the register and read to her, and she did not contradict any other saying from the register

Palm Sunday, March the twenty fifth Jeanne asks permission to hear Mass

On the following Sunday morning, Palm Sunday, the twenty fifth day of March, in Jeanne's prison in the castle of Rouen, we the above-named bishop spoke with her in the presence of Jean Beaupere, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, doctors, and Thomas de Courcelles, bachelor of sacred theology And we said to Jeanne that many times, particularly the day before, she had asked that by reason of the solemnity of these present days and this time she should be permitted to hear Mass on this Palm Sunday therefore we asked her whether if we allowed her she would abandon male costume and put on a

woman's dress, as she had been wont in the country of her birth and as women of her country were wont to do.

To which Jeanne replied by requesting us to permit her to hear Mass in the male costume which she wore and to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist on Easter Day. Then we told her to answer our question, whether she would abandon man's dress if she were given that permission. But she answered that she had not had counsel thereon and could not yet wear woman's dress.

And we asked her if she would take counsel of her saints to wear woman's dress, to which she replied that it might well be permitted her to hear Mass as she was, which she sovereignly desired, but as for changing her dress she could not and it was not in her

After the said lawyers had exhorted her by all the goodness and piety which she seemed to have, to wear a dress fitting to her sex, the said Jeanne answered that it was not in her to do it, and if it were it would soon be done

Then she was told to speak with her voices to discover if she could once more wear woman's dress to receive the Eucharist at Easter. To which Jeanne replied that as far as in her lay she would not receive the Eucharist by changing her costume for a woman's, she asked to be permitted to hear Mass in her male attire, adding that this attire did not burden her soul and that the wearing of it was not against the Church.

Of all this Jean d'Estivet, the Promoter, asked an account be drawn up, in the presence of Adam Milet, king's secretary, William Brolbster and Pierre Orient of the dioceses of Rouen, of London, and Châlons.

ORDINARY TRIAL

Monday, March 26th

HERE BEGINS THE ORDINARY TRIAL FOLLOWING THE PREPARATORY TRIAL

The following Monday, after Palm Sunday, the 26th day of March, in our dwelling at Rouen, before us and brother Jean Le Maître, vicar of the lord Inquisitor, there appeared the venerable Jean de Chatillon, Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, doctors of sacred theology, Raoul Roussel, treasurer of the church of Rouen, doctor in both canon and civil law, André Marguerie, archdeacon of Petit-Caux, Nicolas de Venderès, archdeacon of Eu, and Jean de La Fontaine, licentiates in law, Thomas de Courcelles and Nicolas Loiseleur, canon of Rouen. In their presence we had read certain final articles which the Promoter intended to prefer against the said Jeanne.

Then it was decided that in addition to the preparatory trial conducted up to this time through our office, following our decree and conclusion, the said Jeanne should be proceeded against by an ordinary trial, that the aforesaid articles were well drawn up, that the said Jeanne should be questioned and heard before us, that the articles should be put on behalf of the said Promoter by some solemn lawyer or by himself, and that if Jeanne refused to answer them, after she had been canonically admonished, they should be held to be confessed. And after other things it was decided that on the next day the articles should be preferred by the Promoter, and

that the said Jeanne should be examined and heard in respect of them.

Tuesday, March 27th. The Promoter's request. The articles he has prepared against Jeanne are read

The following Tuesday after Palm Sunday, the 27th day of March, in the room near the great hall of the castle of Rouen, in our episcopal presence, and of brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the lord Inquisitor, assisted by the reverend fathers, lords and masters, Gilles, abbot of Fécamp ; Pierre, prior of Longueville ; Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, Erard Emengart, Guillaume Le Boucher, Maurice du Quesnay, Jean de Nibat, Jean Le Fèvre, Jacques Guesdon, Jean de Châtillon, doctors of sacred theology , Raoul Roussel and Jean Garin, doctors of both canon and civil law respectively , Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, Jean Le Doulx, Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Pinchon, Jean Basset, Jean de La Fontaine, Jean Colombel, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, licentiates in canon law , André Marguerie, archdeacon of Petit-Caux, Jean Alespée, Nicolas Caval, Geoffroy de Crotay, licentiates in civil law ; Guillaume Desjardins and Jean Tiphaine, doctors of medicine , William Haiton, bachelor of theology ; Guillaume de La Chambre, licentiate in medicine , brother Jean Duval and brother Ysambard de La Pierre, of the order of Preaching brothers , William Brolbster and John Hampton : the said master Jean d'Estivet, canon of the churches of Bayeux and Beauvais, our Promoter, appointed by us in this trial, appearing in judgment before us, in presence of the said Jeanne, who was led into our presence, put to her certain supplications and requests in French, of which the tenor, literally translated, was

“My Lords, reverend father in Christ, and you, Vicar, especially charged to this office by the lord Inquisitor of the wanderers from the Catholic faith, established and appointed throughout the whole kingdom of France, I,

Promoter, appointed, charged, and ordained by you in this trial, according to certain information and examinations made on your behalf, I say, declare and propose that Jeanne here present should be brought to answer that which I shall ask, declare and put to her touching and concerning the faith. And I undertake to prove, if need be, by and under protestations, and to the ends and conclusions declared more fully in the requisition which I show and present to you as judges in this trial, the facts, rights and reasons declared and contained in the articles written and specified in the schedule. And I beseech and request you that Jeanne shall be made to affirm and swear that she will answer the said articles, each one severally, according as she believes or does not believe. And in the event of her refusal to swear, or declining or postponing it unduly, after you shall have enjoined her and she shall have been so summoned by you, she shall be accounted deficient and contumacious in her presence, and if her obstinacy requires it, she shall be declared excommunicated for manifest offence. Moreover, you shall determine a certain day as soon as possible for her to answer these articles, intimating to her that if she does not reply to them or to certain of them before the appointed day, you will hold these articles on which she has not given answer, as confessed, according as law, style, use, and custom wish and require of you."

When this petition was pronounced the Promoter presented the accusation against Jeanne, in the form of final articles transcribed below

After which we the aforementioned judges asked the counsel of the assessors. When the request and supplication of the Promoter had been seen, and the opinions of each assessor heard, we concluded that the articles exhibited by the Promoter should be read and explained in French to the said Jeanne, and that she should answer what she knew to each and if there were points for which she asked a delay to answer, a reasonable delay should be granted her.

Then the Promoter took oath before us touching the accusation. When this was done we told Jeanne that all the assessors were ecclesiastical and learned men, experienced in canon and civil law, who wished and intended to proceed with her in all piety and meekness, as they had always been disposed, seeking not vengeance or corporal punishment, but her instruction and her return to the ways of truth and salvation. And, since she was not learned and literate enough in such arduous matters, we suggested that she should choose one or many of those present, and if she would not choose, we would give her some to counsel her touching what she should do and reply, provided that in herself she wished to answer truthfully. And we required her to swear to speak the truth.

To which Jeanne answered : " First, for admonishing me of my salvation and our faith, I thank you and also all the company. As for the counsel you offer me, I thank you for that too ; but I have no intention of departing from the counsel of Our Lord. And the oath you wish me to take I will willingly swear, to answer truthfully on everything which concerns your trial." And she took oath so, with her hands on the holy scriptures.

Afterwards, at our invitation and command the articles which the Promoter had shown us were read to her (by Thomas de Courcelles), and the contents of the articles of accusation were explained to Jeanne in French on the Tuesday and Wednesday following.

Wednesday, March 28th

On this Wednesday there were present the reverend fathers, lords and lawyers . Gilles, abbot of Fécamp , Pierre, prior of Longueville ; Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Erard Emengart, Maurice du Quesnay, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Guillaume Le Boucher, Jean de Nibat, Jean Le Fèvre, Jean de Châtillon, Jacques Guesdon, and Gérard Feuillet, doctors of sacred theology ;

Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law, Robert Le Barbier, licentiate in canon law, William Hutton, Nicolas Coupequesne, bachelors of sacred theology, Jean Guérin, Denis Gistinel, Jean Le Doulx, bachelors of canon and civil law, Jean Pinchon, Jean Bisset, Jean de La Fontaine, Jean Colombel, Jean Duchemin, bachelors of canon law, André Marguerie, archdeacon of Petit-Caux, Jean Alespée, Nicolas Caval, Geoffroy du Crotoy, licentiates in civil law, Guillaume Desjardins, Jean Tiphaine, doctors, and Guillaume de La Chambre, licentiate of medicine, William Brolbster and John Hampton, priests

Here follows word for word the tenor of the articles of the accusation, and of the answers made by Jeanne, with the other answers which she made elsewhere, to which she refers

In your presence, venerable father in Christ and in Our Lord, Pierre, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais, now Ordinary Judge and possessing territory in the city and diocese of Rouen, and of the religious brother Jean Le Maître, of the order of Preaching brothers, bachelor of sacred theology, vicar in this town and diocese and in this trial especially appointed by master Jean Grave-rent, distinguished doctor of sacred theology, of the same order, Inquisitor of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France by the Holy See, before you, competent judges, to the end that the woman commonly called Jeanne *the Maid*, found, taken, and detained in the limits of your territory, venerable father, and the boundaries of your diocese of Beauvais, surrendered, entrusted, delivered, and restored to you, her ecclesiastical and ordinary judge by Our Lord Christian King of France and England, to be dealt with by the law and corrected, as one vehemently suspected, denounced, and defamed by honest and sober people, to the end that she should be denounced and declared by you her said judges as a witch, enchantress, false prophet, a caller up of evil spirits, as superstitious, implicated in and given to magic arts, thinking evil in

our Catholic faith, schismatic in the article *Unam Sanctam*, etc., and in many other articles of our faith sceptic and devious, sacrilegious, idolatrous, apostate of the faith, accursed and working evil, blasphemous towards God and His saints, scandalous, seditious, perturbing and obstructing the peace, inciting to war, cruelly thirsting for human blood, encouraging it to be shed, having utterly and shamelessly abandoned the modesty befitting her sex, and indecently put on the ill-fitting dress and state of men-at-arms, and for that and other things abominable to God and man, contrary to laws both divine and natural, and to ecclesiastical discipline, misleading princes and people; having to the scorn of God permitted and allowed herself to be adored and venerated, giving her hands to be kissed; heretical or at the least vehemently suspected of heresy; that according to the divine and canonical sanctions she should be punished and corrected canonically and lawfully, as befitted these and all other proper ends: Jean d'Estivet, canon of the churches of Bayeux and Beauvais, Promoter or Procurator of your office, appointed therein by you and specially deputed agent and prosecutor in the name of that office, says, proposes, and intends to prove and duly inform your minds against the said Jeanne, accused or denounced, nevertheless the said Promoter protests that it is not his intention to endeavour to prove what is superfluous, but only what will and must suffice to this end, wholly or in part, with all other protestations customary in such matters, and reservations of the right to add, correct, alter, interpret, in law and in fact."

I

"Firstly, according to divine as well as canon and civil law it is meet and proper for you, the one as ordinary judge, the other as Inquisitor of the faith, to drive out, destroy and utterly uproot from your diocese and from the whole kingdom of France the heresies, sacrileges, superstitions, and other crimes declared above; to

punish, correct and restore heretics, those who propose, speak, and utter things contrary to our catholic faith, or act against it in any way, and all evil doers, criminals or their accomplices who shall be apprehended in the said diocese and jurisdiction, even if part or all of their misdeeds shall have been committed elsewhere, as other competent judges in their own dioceses, limits, and jurisdictions are empowered and bound to do. And therein, even in respect of a lay person of whatever estate, sex, quality, or pre-eminence, you must be held, esteemed and reputed competent judges.

To this first article Jeanne replies that she is well aware that Our Holy Father the Pope of Rome and the bishops and other clergy exist for the protection of the Christian faith and the punishment of those who fall from it, but for her part she will in respect of her acts submit only to the Church in Heaven, that is to God, to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to the Saints of Paradise. She firmly believes that she has not failed in our faith and would not fail therein.

II

"The said accused, not only in the present year, but from the time of her childhood, not only in your diocese and jurisdiction, but also in the neighbouring and other parts of this kingdom, has performed, composed, mingled in and commanded many charms and superstitions, she has been deified and permitted herself to be adored and venerated, she has called up demons and evil spirits, has consulted and frequented them, has had, made, and entered into pacts and treaties with them, she has similarly given counsel, aid and favour to others doing the same things, and has induced them to do the same or like things, saying, believing, maintaining, affirming, that so to do, to believe in them, to use such charms, divinations and superstitious proceedings was neither a sin nor a forbidden thing but she has rather assured them that it is lawful, praiseworthy and opportune,

enticing into these evil ways and errors many people of different estate and of either sex, in whose heart she imprinted these and like things. And in the accomplishment and perpetration of these crimes the said Jeanne has been taken and captured in the boundaries and limits of your diocese of Beauvais."

To this second article Jeanne answers that she denies the charms, superstitions, and divinations, and as for the adoration, if certain people have kissed her hands or garments it is not because of her or at her will; she kept herself from that as far as it was within her power. The rest of the article she denies

And moreover on Saturday, March 3rd, of this same year, in regard to the content of this article, when she was asked if she knew what was in the thoughts of the people of her party as they kissed her hands, her feet and her garments, she answered that many people gladly saw her. And with that, she said that she told them to kiss her garments as little as possible, but the poor came to her, so she did not disappoint them, but helped them as much as she could.

Saturday, March 10th, when asked if on making the *sortie* at Compiègne, where she was captured, she had been told by revelation or by her voice to make the *sortie*, she answered that on that day it had not announced her capture, and she was not counselled to go there; but she had often been told that she must be taken. Asked if when she made this *sortie* she passed over the bridge of Compiègne, she answered yes, and through the boulevard, that she went with the company of her men against the men of lord Jean de Luxembourg, that she twice drove them to the camp of the Burgundians, and a third time to the middle of the highway; and then the English cut off the road from her and her company, between her and the boulevard, so her men retreated; and she, falling back to the fields, on the Picardy side, was captured, and the river was between Compiègne and the place where she was taken, and between Com-



JEANNE IS CAPTURED AT COMPIEGNE

F m ry of h 15th t y the Ch r h of D m émy

piegne and where she was taken there was only the river, and the boulevard with its ditch

III

“The accused is fallen into many divers errors of the worst kind, infected with heretical evil she has said, uttered, voiced, affirmed, published, graven on the hearts of simple people certain false and lying propositions, infected with heresy and actually heretical, without and contrary to our Catholic faith, against the statutes made and approved by the General Councils, as well as divine, canon and civil laws propositions scandalous, sacrilegious, contrary to good customs and offensive to pious ears, she has lent aid, counsel and favour to those who have said, uttered, affirmed and promulgated these propositions ”

This third article Jeanne denies and declares that as far as in her lies she has upheld the Church

IV

“And the better and more particularly to inform you, my lord judges, of the offences, excesses, crimes, and misdemeanours committed by the accused, as has been reported, in many parts of the realm, in this diocese and elsewhere, it is true that the accused was and is a native of the village of Greux, that she has for father Jacques d Arc and for mother Isabelle, his wife that she was brought up in her youth, until the age of 18 or thereabouts, in the village of Domremy on the Meuse, in the diocese of Toul, in the Bailly of Chaumont-en-Bassigny, in the provosty of Monteclaire and Andelot Which Jeanne in her youth was not taught or instructed in the belief and principles of the faith, but was lessoned and initiated by certain old women in the use of spells, divinations, and other superstitious works or magic arts Many inhabitants of these villages are known from olden times to have practised these evil arts, and from certain of them, and especially from her godmother, Jeanne

declares she has often heard talk of visions or apparitions of fairies or fairy spirits, and from others also she has been taught and filled with these evil and pernicious errors about the spirits, so much so that she confessed to you, in judgment, that until this day she knew not whether these fairies were evil spirits ”

To this article Jeanne replied that she allowed the first part, namely, about her father and mother and the place of her birth , but as for fairies, she did not understand. As for her instruction, she learnt to believe and was well and duly taught how to behave as a good child should. For her godmother she referred to what she had stated elsewhere.

Asked about saying her *Credo*, she answers . “ Ask the confessor to whom I said it.”

V

“Near the village of Domrémy stands a certain large and ancient tree, commonly called ‘ *L’arbre charmine faée de Bourlemont*,’ and near the tree is a fountain. It is said that round about live evil spirits, called fairies, with whom those who practise spells are wont to dance at night, wandering about the tree and the fountain ”

To this fifth article, touching the tree and the fountain, Jeanne refers to another answer she has given : the rest she denies.

On Saturday the 24th day of February, she answered that not far from Domrémy there is a tree called the *Ladies’ Tree* which some call the *Fairies’ Tree*, and near it a fountain. She has heard that the sick drink of this fountain (she herself has drunk of it) and seek from its waters the restoration of their health , but she does not know whether they are cured or not.

On Thursday, March 1st, asked if St. Catherine and St. Margaret spoke to her under the tree, she answered “ I do not know.” And asked once more if the saints spoke to her at the fountain, she answered that they did, that she heard them there , but what they said to her

then, she no longer knew. Asked, on the same day, what the saints promised her, there or elsewhere, she replied that they made no promise to her, but by God's permission.

On Saturday, March 17th, asked if her godmother who saw the fairies is accounted a wise woman, she answered that she is held and accounted a good honest woman, and not a witch or sorceress.

The same day, asked if she had not heretofore believed the fairies to be evil spirits, she answered that she did not know. And the same day, when asked if she knew anything of those who consort with the fairies, she answered that she never went and never knew aught of that, but she had heard that some went on Thursdays. She does not believe in it, and holds it to be witchcraft.

VI

"The said Jeanne was wont to frequent the fountain and the tree, mostly at night, sometimes during the day, particularly, so as to be alone, at hours when in church the divine office was being celebrated. When dancing she would turn around the tree and the fountain, then would hang on the boughs garlands of different herbs and flowers, made by her own hand, dancing and singing the while, before and after, certain songs and verses and invocations, spells, and evil arts. And the next morning the chaplets of flowers would no longer be found there.

To this sixth article, on this 27th day of March, she answers that she refers to another reply that she has made. The remainder of the article she denies.

On Saturday, the 24th of February, she said that she heard how that the sick, when they can get up, go to the tree to walk about, it is a huge tree, a beech, from which *le beau may* comes, and it belonged, so it was said, to Pierre de Bourlemont. Sometimes she went playing with the other girls, in summer, and made garlands for Our Lady of Domrémy there. Often she had

heard old people tell, not those of her family, that the fairies frequented it. She has heard Jeanne, the wife of mayor Aubrey of Domrémy, her godmother, say that she had seen the fairies, but she herself does not know if it is true. She never, as far as she knew, saw the fairies, and she does not know if she saw any elsewhere. She has seen the maidens putting chaplets of flowers on the boughs of the tree, and she herself has hung them with the others, sometimes carrying them away, sometimes leaving them there. She adds that ever since she knew she must come to France she had taken little part in games or dancing, as little as possible. She does not know whether she has danced near the tree since she had grown to understanding, and though on occasions she may well have danced there with the children, she more often sang than danced there. There is also a wood, called *the Oak wood*, which can be seen from her father's door, not more than half a league away. She does not know, nor has she ever heard, that the fairies repair there, but she has heard from her brothers that after she had left the country it was said that she received her message at the Fairies' Tree. She says she did not and she told her brother so. Further, she says that when she came to her king, several people asked her if there was not in her part of the country a wood called the Oak wood, for there were prophecies saying that out of the Oak wood should come a maid who should work miracles, but she said she put no faith therein.

VII

"The said Jeanne was wont to bear a mandrake in her bosom, hoping thereby to have good fortune in riches and the things of this world, which mandrake, she affirmed, possessed this virtue and potency."

This seventh article, of the mandrake, Jeanne utterly denies

Now, on the 1st day of March, when asked what she had done with her mandrake, she replied that she had

never had one, but had heard say that there was one, near her village, but she never saw it. Also she had heard that it is an evil and dangerous thing to keep, yet she cannot tell what its use is. Asked where this mandrake is, of which she has heard, she answered that she heard it was in the ground, near the tree, but she cannot tell whereabouts. And she has heard that over the mandrake a hazel tree grows. Asked what good the mandrake is, she replied that she has heard that it attracts money, but she puts no faith in that, and her voices never told her anything of this.

VIII

“Jeanne, when she was about [fifteen], of her own will and without the leave of her said father and mother, went to the town of Neufchateau in Lorraine and there for some time served in the house of a woman, an inn-keeper named *La Rousse*, where many young unguarded women stayed, and the lodgers were for the most part soldiers. Thus, dwelling at this inn, she would sometimes stay with the said women, sometimes would drive the sheep to the fields, and occasionally lead the horses to drink, or to the meadow, or pasture, and there she learned to ride and became acquainted with the profession of arms.

To this eighth article Jeanne answered that she referred to her other replies, and denied the remainder.

Now on February 22nd she confessed that out of dread of the Burgundians she left her father's house and went to the town of Neufchateau in Lorraine, to the house of a certain woman named *La Rousse*, where she stayed about a fortnight, undertaking the common duties of the house, but she did not go into the fields. On Saturday the twenty-sixth of the same month, when asked if she took the beasts to the fields, she said she had already replied, she also added that, since she was grown up and had reached understanding, she did not commonly look after the cattle, but helped to take them to the

meadows and to a castle called the Island, for fear of the soldiers, but she does not remember whether or not she tended them in her youth.

IX

“Jeanne, when in this service, summoned a certain youth for breach of promise before the magistrate of Toul, and in the pursuit of this case, she went frequently to Toul, and spent almost everything she had. This young man, knowing she had lived with the said women, refused to wed her, and died, *pendente lite*. For this reason, out of spite, Jeanne left the said service.”

To this ninth article Jeanne answers that she has replied elsewhere, and that she refers to that reply. She denies the remainder.

Now on Monday, the 12th of March, in answer to the question who had persuaded her to summon a man from Toul for breach of promise, she said : “ I did not have him summoned, it was he who summoned me, and I swore before the judge to tell the truth.” Lastly she swore that she had made no promise to this man. And she added that her voices assured her she would win her case.

X

“After leaving the service of *La Rousse*, the said Jeanne claims to have had for five years, and still be having, visions and apparitions of St Michael, of St. Catherine, and of St Margaret, and that they had privately revealed to her that she should raise the siege of Orleans and have Charles, whom she calls her king, crowned, and should drive out all the adversaries of the kingdom of France, against the wishes of her father and mother, she left them, and of her own initiative and will, went to Robert de Baudricourt, captain of Vaucouleurs, to inform him, according to the command of St. Michael, and of St. Catherine and St Margaret, of the visions and revelations made to her by God, as she claims, and to ask the said Robert to help her to accomplish the said revela-

tions And, twice refused by the said Robert, and being returned home, she received once more by revelation the command to return to him, and the third time she was welcomed and received by the said Robert "

To this tenth article she answers that she will abide by her other replies on this matter

Now on Thursday, February 22nd, she stated that, when she was about thirteen years, she had a voice from God to help her and guide her The first time she was much afraid it came towards noon on a summer s day, in her father s garden, when she was not fasting, and had not fasted on the previous day She heard the voice on her right, towards the church, and she seldom heard it without a light This light came from the same side as the voice, and generally there was a great light When she came to France she often heard a great voice , and, for the first time, there was a light She added that if she was in a wood she heard the voices well , and it seemed to her a worthy voice, and she believed it was sent to her from God After she had heard it three times she knew it was the voice of an angel She said too that the voice always protected her well, and that she understood it well Asked what instruction this voice gave her for the salvation of her soul, she answered it taught her to be good and to go to church often, and that she must come to France And she added that the examiner would not learn from her, this time, in what form the voice appeared to her Further, the voice told her, two or three times a week, to leave and come to France, and her father was to know nothing of her leaving The voice told her to come, and she could no longer stay where she was it told her she would raise the siege of Orleans When she reached Vaucouleurs she recognized Robert de Baudricourt, although she had never seen him , she told him that through her voices it had been revealed to her that she must come to France she recognized the said Robert through her voice which told her it was he Now he twice repulsed her, the third

time he received her, and gave her an escort as her voice had foretold.

On Saturday, February 24th, asked at what time on the preceding day she had heard the voice, she answered that she had heard it then, and on that 24th of February, three times in all. First in the morning, next at Vespers, and lastly when the *Ave Maria* was rung, she often heard it more frequently than she said. And the morning before, whilst she was asleep, the voice woke her without touching her, but by speaking to her; she did not know if the voice was in the room, but she was certain it was in the castle; she confessed that when the voice came to her for the first time she was in or about her thirteenth year.

On Tuesday the 27th of the same month she said that it was a good seven years since St. Catherine and St. Margaret undertook for the first time to guide her. Asked if St. Michael appeared first, she answered yes, she had received great comfort from him. "I do not speak of St. Michael's voice, but of his great comfort." Asked which was the first voice to come to her, about the age of thirteen, she answered that it was St. Michael whom she saw before her eyes; and he was not alone, but accompanied by many angels from heaven. She said also that she came into France only by the instruction of God. Asked if she saw St. Michael and the angels corporeally and in reality, she answered that she saw them with her bodily eyes as well as she saw the assessors of the trial. And when St. Michael and the angels left her, she wept, and fain would have been taken with them. Asked, on the same day, if there was a light with the voices, she answered there was a great deal of light, on all sides, as was most fitting.

On Thursday, March 1st, asked if since the preceding Tuesday she had not spoken with St. Catherine and St. Margaret, she answered yes, both on that and on the previous day, but she did not know at what hour, but there is not a day but she hears them.

On Monday, March 12th, asked if she inquired of her voices whether she should tell her father and mother of her leaving, she answered that, regarding her father and mother, her voices would have been glad for her to tell them, had it not been for the difficulties they would have raised if she had done so. For her part, she would not have told them for anything, the voices left it to her to reveal her going to her parents, or be silent. Asked about the dreams her father had of her going away, she answered that her mother told her several times that whilst she was still at home her father said he had dreamt of Jeanne's going away with soldiers, and they took great care to keep her safely, and held her in great subjection, she obeyed them in all things, except in the incident at Toul, in the action for marriage. She had heard her mother tell how her father said to her brothers 'If I thought what I dreamed was going to happen, I should want you to drown her, and if you would not, I would do it myself.' Her father and mother almost lost their senses when she left for Vaucouleurs. Asked whether these thoughts came to her father after she had had her visions and her voices, she answered yes, more than two years after she first heard the voices.

XI

"The said Jeanne, having entered into intimate relations with Robert, boasted of having told him that after having dispatched and accomplished everything that had been enjoined by revelation from God, she would have three sons of which the first would be pope, the second emperor, and the third king. Hearing which, the said captain said to her 'Now then, I should like to give you one if they're going to be such powerful men, because I should be better off.' To which she answered 'No, gentle Robert, no, this is not the time, the Holy Spirit will find a way!' So the said Robert, in many places, and in the presence of prelates, lawyers, and notable persons, affirmed, said and uttered."

To this eleventh article Jeanne answers by referring to the replies she made elsewhere on this subject ; and as for having three children, she never has boasted of it

Now on Monday, March 12th, asked if her voices called her *daughter of God*, or *daughter great-hearted*, she answered that before the siege of Orleans, and since then, they have spoken to her every day, often calling her *Jeanne the Maid, daughter of God*.

XII

“ And, the better and more easily to accomplish her plan, the said Jeanne required the said Captain to have a male costume made for her, with arms to match , which he did, reluctantly, and with great repugnance, finally consenting to her demand. When these garments and these arms were made, fitted and completed, the said Jeanne put off and entirely abandoned woman’s clothes , with her hair cropped short and round like a young fop’s, she wore shirt, breeches, doublet, with hose joined together and fastened to the said doublet by 20 points, long leggings laced on the outside, a short mantle reaching to the knees, or thereabouts, a close-cut cap, tight-fitting boots and buskins, long spurs, sword, dagger, breastplate, lance and other arms in the style of a man-at-arms, with which she performed actions of war and affirmed that she was fulfilling the commands of God as they had been revealed to her.”

To this twelfth article Jeanne answers that she refers to her other replies on this matter. In consequence, asked whether she took this dress and these arms and other uniform of war by God’s command, she answers . “ I refer as formerly to what I have already said in reply to this.”

Now on Thursday, February 22nd, she declared that her voice had told her to go to Robert, captain of Vaucouleurs, and he would give her men-at-arms , to which she answered that she was a poor maid who could neither ride nor fight. She declared that she had told an uncle

that she had to go to Vaucouleurs, so he took her there Further, that when she went to her king, she wore man's dress Also that before she went to her lord the king the Duke of Lorraine sent for her, she went, and told him she wanted to go to France The Duke questioned her about recovering his health, but she told him she knew nothing of that, and spoke to him little of her journey

She told the Duke to give her his son and his men to take her to France, and she would pray for his health She journeyed to the Duke by safe conduct, and returned to Vaucouleurs On leaving Vaucouleurs she wore man's dress, carried a sword which the said Robert gave her, but no other arms, and was accompanied by a knight, a squire, and four servants She went to the town of St Urbain, and slept in the abbey During this journey she passed through Auxerre where she heard Mass in the great church, and frequently had her voices with her Further, the said Robert made those who were escorting her swear to lead her safely and surely, and when she left he said to her 'Go, go, and come what may' She said also that she had to change to man's costume since she believed her counsel in that respect was good that she went without hindrance to her king to whom she sent letters for the first time when she was yet at Ste Catherine de Fierbois

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked if her voice instructed her to wear the habit of a man, she answered that the dress is but a little thing, the least of all but she did not wear man's dress at anybody's counsel, she wore it, and did everything, only at the command of Our Lord and His angels She did not wear this dress at Robert's bidding Asked if she had done well to wear this dress, she answered that to her mind everything she did at God's bidding was well done, and she expects good warrant and help for it She said, too, that she had a sword which she took at Vaucouleurs

On the 12th of March, asked if it was at Robert's request that she wore man's dress, and if the voice had

given her any command in connexion with Robert, she answered as before. Of the voice she said that everything good which she had done had been at the instance of her voices, and, in respect of the dress, she would answer another time, for at present she was not advised, but would reply on the next day.

On Saturday, March 17th, asked what warrant or aid she expects from Our Lord from the fact that she wears man's dress, she answers that in this as in other respects she wanted no other recompense than the salvation of her soul.

XIII

“The said Jeanne attributes to God, to His angels and to His Saints instructions that are contrary to the honesty of womankind, forbidden by divine law, abominable to God and man, and prohibited under penalty of anathema by ecclesiastical decrees, such as the wearing of short, tight, and dissolute male habits, those underneath the tunic and breeches as well as the rest, and, according to their bidding, she often dressed in rich and sumptuous habits, precious stuffs and cloth of gold and furs, and not only did she wear short tunics, but she dressed herself in tabards and garments open at the sides, whilst it is notorious that when she was captured she was wearing a loose cloak of cloth of gold, a cap on her head and her hair cropped round in man's style. And in general, having cast aside all womanly decency, not only to the scorn of feminine modesty, but also of well-instructed men, she had worn the apparel and garments of most dissolute men, and in addition, had borne weapons of offence. To attribute this to the bidding of God, His holy angels and virgin saints, is blasphemy of Our Lord and His saints, setting at nought the divine decrees, infringement of canon law, the scandal of her sex and womanly decency, the perversion of all modesty of outward bearing, the approbation and encouragement of most probrate examples of conduct.”

To this thirteenth article, Jeanne answers "I have not blasphemed God or His saints"

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked if she thought the instruction to wear man's dress was lawful, she answered that everything she did was at God's command, and that, if He had bidden her wear a different dress, she would have done so, for it was God's bidding. Asked whether she thought that in this particular instance she had done well, she replied that she did not wear it without God's command, and that no single action of hers was otherwise than at His command.

On Saturday, the 3rd, asked whether when she went to her king for the first time, he inquired if she had changed her dress after revelation, she answered "I replied to this before," and "nevertheless, I do not recall that I was asked that." She added it is written at Poitiers. On the same day, asked if she believed that she would err or commit mortal sin by returning to woman's clothes, she answered she would do better to obey and serve her sovereign Lord, namely God.

XIV

"The said Jeanne affirms that it was right so to wear garments and habits of dissolute men, and will persist therein, saying that she must not abandon them, except with express permission by revelation from God, to the injury of God, of His angels and His saints."

To this fourteenth article Jeanne answers "I do not do ill to serve God, to-morrow you shall have a reply."

The same day, asked by one of the assessors if she had received instruction or revelation to wear man's dress, she answers that her reply has been given, and she leaves it at that. Then says that she will send answer the next day. She adds that she knows well who made her wear man's dress, but she does not know how she ought to reveal it.

On Saturday, February 24th, asked if she desired a woman's habit, she answered "If you will give me

permission, send me one. I will take it and go : otherwise I do not want one. I am content with this, since it is God's will that I should wear it."

On Monday, March 12th, asked whether she did not think she was doing wrong to wear man's dress, she answered no ; and even at that moment, if she were back with her own party, it seemed to her that it would be to the great good of France for her to do as she did before her capture.

On Saturday, March 17th, asked why, since she declares her wearing of male attire to be at God's command, she asks for a woman's shift in the event of her death, she answered it were enough for her if it were long

XV

"The said Jeanne having repeatedly asked permission to hear Mass, was admonished to put off man's dress and return to woman's dress ; her judges gave her hope that she would be allowed to hear Mass and receive Communion if she would finally put off man's dress and wear female attire, as befits her sex. She would not agree, and preferred not to take Communion and the holy offices, rather than abandon this dress, pretending that by so doing she would displease God, so revealing her obstinacy, her stubbornness in evil, her want of charity, her disobedience to the Church, and the scorn she has of the holy sacraments "

To this fifteenth article, on this Tuesday the 27th of March, Jeanne answers that she would much rather die than turn back on Our Lord's command.

On this same day, asked if she will put off man's dress and hear Mass, she replies that she will not yet put it off, and that it is not on her that the day depends when she may do so

She says that if the judges refuse to let her hear Mass, it is in God's power to let her hear Mass when it pleases Him, without them.

As for the remainder of the article, she answers that she confesses she has been admonished to wear woman's dress, but she denies the irreverence and the succeeding charges

On Thursday, March 15th, asked which she would prefer, to wear woman's dress and hear Mass or keep to male costume and not hear Mass, she answered

Promise me I shall hear Mass if I am in woman's dress, and I will answer you " Whereupon the examiner said he would promise, and Jeanne then answered

What do you say if I have sworn and promised to our king not to put off this dress? Yet I answer you Have a long dress, reaching down to the ground, with no train, made for me, and give it to me to go to Mass, and then on my return I will put on once more the dress I have ' Asked once and for all whether she would wear a woman's dress and go to hear Mass, she answered

I will have counsel on it, and then I will answer you ' And in honour of God and of Our Lady she urged she should be allowed to hear Mass in this good town Whereupon she was told to take a woman's dress, simply and absolutely She replied Give me a dress such as the daughters of a burgess wear, a *houppelande*, and also a woman's hood and I will wear it to go and hear Mass " Moreover she said, as urgently as she could, that she besought us to permit her to hear Mass in the dress she wore, without any change

On Saturday, March 17th, questioned on the subject of the woman's dress offered to her so that she could hear Mass, she answered that she would not put it on till it should please Our Lord, and if it be that she must be brought to judgment and stripped, she asks the lords of the Church to grant her the mercy of a woman's shift and a hood for her head, for she would rather die than turn back from her Lord's command She firmly believes God will not permit her to be brought so low, or be without His aid, or miracle Asked whether her saying she would take a woman's dress if they would let her

go would please God, she answered that if she were given permission to go in woman's dress she would immediately put on man's dress and do what Our Lord bade her, and that nothing in the world would induce her to swear not to take up arms or wear man's dress, to accomplish Our Lord's will and pleasure.

XVI

"The said Jeanne, after her capture, at the castle of Beaurevoir and at Arras, was repeatedly and charitably admonished by noble and eminent persons of both sexes to abandon man's dress and to wear habits decently fitting her sex. This she absolutely refused, and still obstinately persists in her refusal to do, as well as the other duties fitting to her sex ; in all things she behaves more like a man than a woman."

To this sixteenth article Jeanne confesses that she was admonished at Arras and at Beaurevoir to wear woman's dress, and that she refused and still refuses. As for the other womanly duties, she says there are enough other women to do them.

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked if she recalls whether the clerks of her own party who examined her, some for the space of a month, others for three weeks, did not question her about the changing of her dress, she replied that she did not remember . that, however, they did ask her where she assumed her male costume, and she told them it was at Vaucouleurs. Asked if they inquired of her if she assumed it because of her voices, she said : "That is not in your case." Further asked if she was not asked to change her habit at Beaurevoir, she answered : "Yes, truly"; and she said she would not without God's leave. The Demoiselle of Luxembourg asked Jean de Luxembourg not to deliver her to the English, and with the Lady of Beaurevoir offered her a woman's dress, and told her to wear it. She replied that she had not God's permission, and it was not yet time. She added that Messire Jean de Pressy and others at Arras did not offer her a woman's dress ; others asked her to change her

dress Moreover, she said that if she had had to do it she would rather have done so at the request of these two ladies than of any other ladies in France, save her queen Asked also whether when God revealed to her that she should change to man's dress, it was by the voice of St Michael, or by the voice of St Catherine or St Margaret, she answered 'You will learn no more for the present'

XVII

"When the said Jeanne came, thus clothed and armed, into the presence of the said Charles, she made amongst others three promises to him the first that she would raise the siege of Orleans, the second that she would get him crowned at Rheims, the third she would take vengeance of his enemies, that she would kill them all by her magic art, drive them out of the kingdom, both the English and the Burgundians She boasted publicly of these promises many times in different places, and to increase faith in her acts and sayings, she then and thenceforth made use of spells, and showed up the habits, life, and secret actions of people coming into her presence whom she had never seen or known, and boasted that her knowledge came by revelation'

To this seventeenth article Jeanne replied that she bore to her king news from God saying that Our Lord would restore his kingdom, would have him crowned at Rheims, and would expel his enemies She was God's messenger to that effect, and told him to set her boldly to work, and she would raise the siege of Orleans She spoke, she said, of the whole kingdom, and if the Lord Duke of Burgundy and other subjects of the realm did not come to obedience, her king would compel them by force She said, with regard to the end of the article of recognizing Robert and her king I hold to what I said before

On Thursday, February 22nd, she confessed that when she came to Vaucouleurs she recognized Robert

de Baudricourt although she had never seen him, because her voice told her it was he. She said that she found her king at Chinon, where she arrived towards noon, and lodged at an inn; and after dinner, she went to her king at his castle, and she recognized him from the others, when she entered the chamber, by her voices, and she told the king she wanted to fight the English.

On March 13th, asked about a certain married priest and a lost cup, she answered she knew nothing of that, and had never heard of it.

XVIII

“The said Jeanne, as long as she remained with the said Charles, dissuaded him and his men with all her power from negotiating any treaty or peace with his enemies, continually incited her party to murder and shed human blood, affirming that there could be no peace but by the sword and the lance’s point: that it was so ordained of God, since the king’s enemies would not otherwise yield what they held of the realm, and therefore to make war on them was to her mind of the greatest benefit to all Christendom”

To this eighteenth article Jeanne answers that she summoned the Duke of Burgundy both by letter and ambassadors to make peace with her king. As for the English, the only peace with them is by their return to their own country, to England. On the rest of the article she has made other replies, to which she refers

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked why she did not conclude a treaty with the captain of Jargeau, she answered that the lords of her party replied to the English that they would not get the delay of a fortnight for which they asked, but must go off, with their horses, immediately. For her own part she said they could retire with their doublets, and their life safe, if they wished, otherwise they would be taken by assault. Asked if she had any conversation with her counsel, or

voices, to find out whether or not to grant the delay, she answered that she had no recollection

XIX

"The said Jeanne, by consulting demons and employing spells, sent for a certain sword hidden in the church of Ste Catherine de Fierbois, which she had maliciously and deceitfully hid or had hidden in this church, so that by misleading princes, nobles, clergy, and common folk, she might more easily induce them to believe that it was by revelation that she knew the sword was there, and they might more readily put absolute faith in her sayings"

To this nineteenth article on this Tuesday the 27th of March, she answers that she refers to her earlier answers in this connexion the rest of the article she denies

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked if she had been to Ste Catherine de Fierbois, she answered yes, that she had heard Mass there three times on the same day, and then went on to Chinon The same Tuesday she said she had a sword from the church of Ste Catherine de Fierbois that she sent for when at Tours or Chinon it was in the earth behind the altar, and immediately afterwards the sword was found, all rusted Asked how she knew the sword was there, she replied it was in the ground, rusted over, with five crosses upon it, she knew through her voices, and said she had never seen the man she sent to fetch it She wrote to the clergy asking if it was their pleasure she should have this sword, and they sent it to her She thought it was not buried deep behind the altar, she did not know exactly whether it was in front or behind the altar, yet she thought she wrote it was behind As soon as the sword was found, she added, the priests rubbed it and the rust fell off at once without effort An armourer of Tours fetched it The priests of Ste Catherine and also of Tours gave her a scabbard, there were two, one of crimson velvet, the other of cloth of gold She herself had another made of very strong leather, and added that when she was

captured she had not this sword with her, though she wore it continually until she reached St. Denis. Asked how it was blessed, whether she said or asked any benediction over the sword, she answered she had never asked blessing for it or known how to. She loved the sword, since it had been found in the church of St. Catherine whom she loved.

Asked on Saturday, March 17th, what was the purpose of the five crosses on the sword, she answered that she did not know.

XX

"The said Jeanne put a spell on her ring, her standard, on certain pieces of linen or pennons, which she used to bear or have her men bear before her, as she did upon the sword she claimed to have found by revelation at Ste. Catherine de Fierbois, affirming that these objects brought good fortune. She uttered many curses and incantations over them in different places, publicly declaring that with their aid she would do great things and overcome her enemies, that her men could meet with no defeat in their attack or fighting, or suffer any misfortune, because they bore such pennons. In particular she publicly uttered and proclaimed this at Compiègne, on the eve of her attack upon the lord Duke of Burgundy, during the course of which she was captured and taken prisoner, and many of her men were wounded, killed, and taken. This she as much as declared when at St. Denis she incited her company to attack Paris."

To this twentieth article Jeanne, on Tuesday, March 27th, answered that she abides by her earlier answers in this connexion. Furthermore, she adds that in nothing she did was there witchcraft or other magic art. With regard to her standard, she refers herself to the good fortune Our Lord brought it.

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked if she had her sword when she was captured, she answered no, but a certain sword taken from a Burgundian instead.

On Thursday, March 1st, asked who gave her the ring now in the possession of the Burgundians, she answered her father and mother, she thought it had written on it JHESUS MARIA, but she knew not who wrote these words. The ring had no stone and was given her at Domrémy. She said her brother gave her another ring besides the one which we, the bishop, held, and she charged us to give it to the Church. Never, she said, did she tend or cure any person with the aid of these rings.

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked whether when the king first set her to work and she had her standard made, the men-at-arms and others of her party did not have pennons made like hers, she answered "It is well to know that the lords kept their own arms." She replied that certain of her companions in arms had them made at their pleasure, others did not. Asked of what stuff they had them made, whether of linen or of cloth, she answered it was of white satin, and on some were fleurs-de-lys. She had only two or three lances in her company, but her companions in arms sometimes had pennons made like hers, doing so merely to distinguish their men from others. Asked if the pennons were often renewed, she answered that she did not know, that when the lances were broken, new pennons were made. Asked if those made like hers brought good fortune, she answered that she did indeed sometimes say to her men "Go boldly in the midst of the English", or "among the English", and she herself would go. Asked if she told them to bear the pennons boldly, and they would have good fortune, she answered that she certainly told them what had happened and would happen again. Asked if she had thrown or had others throw holy water over the pennons, when they were first taken, she answered that she did not know, and if it was done it was not at her instruction. Asked if she ever saw holy water sprinkled on them, she answered "That is not in your case," and if she did, she was not

now advised to reply. Asked if her companions in arms did not have written on their pennons JHESUS MARIA, she answered that by her faith she did not know. Asked if she had borne round the altar or church, or had others bear it, cloth which was to be made into pennons, she answered no, and she had never seen it done.

On Saturday, March 17th, asked what her ring which had JHESUS MARIA written on it was made of, she answered she did not exactly know. If it was gold, it was not of fine gold : she does not know if it was gold or brass, but thinks there were three crosses upon it, and, to her knowledge, no other sign save JHESUS MARIA. Asked why she gladly looked at this ring when she was going into battle, she answered it was out of pleasure, and in honour of her father and mother ; and having her ring in her hand and on her finger she touched St. Catherine who appeared to her.

Asked what part of her she touched she answered :
 “ You will get nothing more about that ”

XXI

“ The said Jeanne, thereto incited by her temerity and her presumption, had the names JHESUS MARIA written in her letters, signed with a cross between, and addressed them from herself to Our Lord the King, to My Lord Duke of Bedford, then regent of France, and to the lords who held the siege at Orleans, letters containing many things evil, pernicious, and contrary to the Catholic faith, of which the tenor follows.”

To this article, this Tuesday, March 27th, Jeanne answers that she did not send these letters out of pride or presumption, but at Our Lord's bidding, and confesses to the letters, except for three words.

On Thursday, February 22nd, she said she had sent letters to the English at Orleans, telling them to retire, according to the contents of the letters which were read to her, except for two or three words, for example, she declares that where it says *Surrender to the Maid*,



PORTRAIT OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

F m m t th B t h M m

it should read *Surrender to the king*, similarly for *body for body* and *chieftain of war*. The tenor of the letters begins 'King of England, etc.' and they are subscribed ✠ JHESUS MARIA ✠

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked if her own party firmly believed her to be sent from God, she answered she knew not whether they did, and referred us to their opinion, but if they did not, yet she is sent from God none the less. Asked if she did not think that they held a wise belief by deeming her to be sent from God, she answered 'If they believe I am sent from God, they are not deceived.'

XXII

✠ JHESUS MARIA ✠

'King of England, and you Duke of Bedford, calling yourself regent of France, you, William Pole, Count of Suffolk, John Talbot, and you Thomas Lord Scales, calling yourselves lieutenants of the said Duke of Bedford, do right in the King of Heaven's sight. Surrender to *The Maid* sent hither by God the King of Heaven, the keys of all the good towns you have taken and laid waste in France. She comes in God's name to establish the Blood Royal, ready to make peace if you agree to abandon France and repay what you have taken. And you, archers, comrades in arms, gentles and others, who are before the town of Orleans, retire in God's name to your own country. If you do not, expect to hear tidings from *The Maid* who will shortly come upon you to your very great hurt. And to you, King of England, if you do not thus, I am a chieftain of war, and whenever I meet your followers in France, I will drive them out, if they will not obey, I will put them all to death. I am sent here in God's name, the King of Heaven, to drive you body for body out of all France. If they obey, I will show them mercy. Do not think otherwise, you will not withhold the kingdom of France from God, the King of Kings, Blessed Mary's Son.

The King Charles, the true inheritor, will possess it, for God wills it, and has revealed it to him through *The Maid*, and he will enter Paris with a good company. If you do not believe these tidings from God and *The Maid*, wherever we find you we shall strike you and make a greater tumult than France has heard for a thousand years. Know well that the King of Heaven will send a greater force to *The Maid* and her good people than you in all your assaults can overcome : and by blows shall the favour of the God of Heaven be seen. You Duke of Bedford, *The Maid* prays and beseeches not to bring yourself to destruction. If you obey her, you may join her company, where the French shall do the fairest deed ever done for Christendom. Answer, if you desire peace in the city of Orleans ; if not, bethink you of your great hurt soon. Written this Tuesday of Holy Week ”

To this article, namely the tenor of the aforesaid letters, Jeanne answers that if the English had had faith in her letters they would have been wise men, and within seven years they will perceive what she wrote. She refers herself to the reply she made earlier.

XXIII

“ From the tenor of these letters it is manifest that Jeanne has been deceived by evil spirits, and that she has frequently consulted them in her actions ; or, to mislead the peoples, she has perniciously and falsely invented such fictions ”

To this article she replies, she denies the end of it which declares she acted on the counsel of evil spirits

On February 27th she said she would rather have been drawn by horses than have come to France without God's leave.

XXIV

“ The said Jeanne misused the names of JHESUS and of MARIA, the sign of the Cross placed between them,

and warned certain of her party that when they found these words and this sign in letters from her they should believe and do the opposite of what she wrote "

To this article on this Tuesday, March 27th, Jeanne answers by referring herself to another answer she made in this connexion

On March 17th, asked what the purpose was of the sign she put in her letters, and of JHESUS MARIA, she answered that the clerks who wrote her letters put them in, and some said it was proper to put the two words JHESUS MARIA

XXV

' The said Jeanne, usurping the office of angels, said and affirmed she was sent from God, even in things tending openly to violence and the spilling of human blood, which is absolutely contrary to holiness, and horrible and abominable to all pious minds "

To this article on this Tuesday, March 27th, Jeanne answers that she first asked for peace, but if peace was not agreed to, she was quite prepared to fight

On Saturday, February 24th, she said she came from God and had no business here, in this trial, and asked to be sent back to God from Whom she came On Saturday, March 17th, she said that God sent her to help the kingdom of France

XXVI

" The said Jeanne, being at Compiègne in August of the year of Our Lord, 1429, received a letter from the Count d Armagnac of which the tenor follows "

To this article on this 27th of March Jeanne answers that she refers herself to the answer she made before in this connexion

On Thursday, March 1st, asked if she had not received a letter from the Count d Armagnac about which of the three claimants to the Papacy he should obey, she answered that the Count did write her a letter to this effect,

to which she replied, amongst other things, that when she was in Paris or anywhere at leisure, she would answer. She was about to mount her horse when she gave this answer.

After letters from the Count and from Jeanne were read, she was asked whether that was her actual reply. She answered that she thought she had made that answer in part, but not all of it. Asked if she had professed to know, by her counsel of the King of Kings, what the Count should believe in the matter, she answered she knew nothing about it. Asked if she entertained any doubt concerning whom she should obey, she answered that she did not know how to instruct him to obey since he asked her to say whom God wanted him to obey. For her part she believed that we should obey Our Holy Father the Pope at Rome. She added that she said other things to the Count's messenger which are not in the copy of the letter; and if the messenger had not gone off at once he would have been thrown into the water, though not through her. To the Count's inquiry as to whom God wished him to obey, she replied that she did not know; but sent him several messages not put into writing. For her part she believed in our Holy Father the Pope at Rome. Asked why she had written that she would answer at some other time, if she believed in the Pope of Rome, she said the answer referred to a different matter from the three popes. Asked if she had said she would have counsel on the question of the three popes, she answered she had never written, or caused to be written so, she swore by her oath, anything concerning the three popes.

XXVII

“My very dear Lady, I commend myself humbly to you and beseech you for God's sake, seeing the division which now exists in the holy Church Universal, concerning the question of the popes (for there are three contending for the papacy. one dwells at Rome and

is called Martin V, whom all Christian Kings obey, the other dwells at Peñíscola, in the kingdom of Valencia, and is called Clement [VIII], the third dwells no man knows where, unless it is the Cardinal of St Estienne and a few folk with him, and is called Benedict XIV. The first, who is called Pope Martin, was elected at Constance by the consent of all the Christian nations, he who is called Pope Clement was elected at Peñíscola, after the death of Benedict XIII, by three of his cardinals, the third, called Pope Benedict XIV, was secretly elected at Peñíscola also by Cardinal Saint-Estienne), I beseech you to entreat Our Lord Jesus Christ that in His infinite mercy He declare unto us through you which of the three aforesaid is the true Pope, and which He would have us henceforth obey, him who is called Martin, or him who is called Clement, or him who is called Benedict, and in whom we should believe, in secret, and without dissimulation or public manifestation, for we are all ready to do the will and pleasure of Our Lord Jesus Christ

Entirely your Count d'Armagnac'

XXVIII

'To which the said Jeanne made answer by a letter signed with her own hand, of which the tenor follows'

XXIX

"JHESUS ✠ MARIA

Count d Armagnac, my good and very dear friend, Jeanne *the Maid* informs you that your message has reached her, wherein you declare you have sent to her to discover which of the three Popes mentioned in your memorial you should believe. In truth I cannot well for the present tell, until I am in Paris or at rest elsewhere, for I am now too pressed by the business of war but when you hear I am in Paris, send me a message and I will tell you in whom you should right-

fully believe, and what I shall know by the counsel of my just and Sovereign Lord, the King of all the World, and as far as I can, what you should do. I commend you to God : may He keep you. Written at Compiègne the 22nd day of August."

XXX

"And so required, as has been related, by the Count d'Armagnac, to say which of the three was the true Pope, and in whom he should believe, she not only cast doubt upon which it was, when there was only one true and authentic Pope, but also, presuming too much for herself, holding the authority of the Church Universal to be of little weight, preferring her own word to the authority of the whole Church, she affirmed that within a fixed interval, she would inform him in which Pope he should believe ; which she would discover by God's counsel, as her letter declares at greater length "

To the articles XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX and XXX which were explained to her word for word, Jeanne refers to the answer she has made, which is put under article XXVI.

This Wednesday after Palm Sunday, 1431, March 28th.

The reading of the articles is continued

[And first, required to take oath, she answered she would willingly swear to speak the truth on that which touched her case, and so she swore.

To the article touching her dress, she answered that she wore her habit and arms at God's bidding ; this was true both of the male costume and the arms.

When asked to abandon this dress, she answered she would not give it up without Our Lord's permission, not even to save her head, but, please God, it would soon be put off She added, that if she had not Our Lord's permission, she would not wear woman's dress]

XXXI

The said Jeanne, in and since the time of her youth, has boasted and daily boasts of having had many revelations and visions, and concerning these, in spite of being charitably admonished and lawfully and properly required upon legal oath, she would not and will not swear, further, she refuses to declare them sufficiently by word or sign, but did and still does put off, contradict, and refuse. And when formally refusing to swear, on many and several occasions, she said and affirmed, in her examination and elsewhere, that she would not discover her visions and revelations, even if her head were cut off or her body were dismembered, that we should not drag from her lips the sign which God showed her, by which she knew she came from God.

To this thirty-first article, Jeanne answers that concerning the sign or other things contained in this article she may well have said she would not reveal it, and adds that her earlier confession should contain that without God's leave she would not reveal the sign.

On February 22nd she said there was no day when she did not hear this voice, or when she did not need it.

On Saturday, February 23rd [24th], she said that on that night her voice told her many things for the good of her king which she wished her king might know that day, if she had to go without wine till Easter, for he would eat the more happily for it.

On Tuesday, February 27th, she said she had told her king at one time all that had been revealed to her, for it concerned him nearly. On this Tuesday, she said that she addressed letters to her king to find out if she should enter the town where he was, that she had journeyed a good 150 leagues to come to his aid, and she knew many things to his advantage. She thought the letters told how she would be able to recognize him among all the others.

On Thursday, March 1st, asked in what form St. Michael appeared, she answered that she did not see his crown, and knew nothing of his apparel. Asked if St. Michael was naked, she answered : " Do you think God has not wherewithal to clothe him ? "

On Tuesday, March 15th, required to tell how she hoped to escape from the castle of Beaulieu, between two pieces of wood, she answered that she was never imprisoned in any place but she would gladly escape ; and being in this castle, she would have shut her guards up in the tower, had it not been for the porter, who had seen and encountered her. It seemed, she said, that it did not please God to have her escape on that occasion, and she must see the English king, as her voices had told her, and as it is written above. On this same day, asked about the size and stature of the angel who appeared to her, she said that she would answer on Saturday with the other matters, namely, what should please God. The same day, asked if she had said that one is sometimes hanged for telling the truth, and if she knew of any fault or crime of hers for which she should fear death, if she did not confess, she answered no.

On Saturday, March 17th, asked about the age and apparel of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, she answered : " You have my reply in this matter, and will get none other from me. I have answered you as best I can."

XXXII

" Consequently you can and must conclude that these revelations and visions, if Jeanne ever had them, proceed rather from evil and lying spirits than from good ; and so they must be presumed by you, in view especially of the cruelty, pride, bearing, actions, lies and contradictions indicated in the several articles, which may well be said and held to be lawful and entirely legitimate presumptions."

To this thirty-second article Jeanne answered, on the

Wednesday after Palm Sunday, March 28th, that she denies it, and declares she has acted from the revelations of St Catherine and St Margaret, and will so maintain till her death. This same day she said that she was advised by certain of her party to put JHESUS MARIA on her letters, which she did on some, and not on others. Where it is written "All that she has done is at God's bidding", should read "All the good I have done"

Asked, on this same day, whether her expedition to La Charité was well or ill done, she answered "If I have done wrong, I will confess"

Asked if it was right for her to go to Paris, she answered that the French noblemen wished to, and by so doing, she believes, they performed their duty of attacking their enemies

XXXIII

"The said Jeanne presumptuously and rashly boasted and boasts of knowing the future and having known the past, of discovering things secret or hidden, and this attribute of God she attributes to herself, a simple and unlearned creature"

To this thirty-third article, this Wednesday, March 28th, Jeanne answers "It is for God to make revelations to whom He pleases", and of the sword and other things to come which she told, she knew them by revelation

On Saturday, February 24th, she said the Burgundians will have war, if they do not as they should, she knows it by her voice

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked whether when the assault was to be made at Orleans, she did not tell her men that she would receive the arrows, crossbolts and stones, she answered no, and there were a hundred or more wounded. But she did tell them to have no fear, and they would raise the siege. Asked, on the same day, to which fortress she ordered her men to retire, she says she does not remember. She added

that she was confident of raising the siege of Orleans, because it had been revealed to her ; this she told her king, before going there. She said also that at the assault upon the fortress of the Bridge she was wounded in the neck by a crossbolt ; but received great comfort from St. Michael, and was better in a fortnight. Asked if she knew beforehand that she would be wounded, she answered that she did indeed, and had told her king so , but that notwithstanding, she would not give up her work. It was revealed to her by the voices of St. Catherine and St. Margaret. She added that she herself was the first to plant the ladder up against the fortress of the Bridge, and as she was raising it, she was wounded in the neck with a crossbolt.

On Thursday, March 1st, she said that within seven years the English would lose a greater stake than they did at Orleans ; that the English will suffer a greater loss than ever they did in France, which will be by the victory God will send the French. This she knows by revelation, it will happen within seven years, and she is very vexed that it should be so long postponed. She says, as above, that she knows it by revelation, as well as she knows that we were before her. She said : " I know it as well as I know you are here." Asked in what year it will happen, she answered : " You will not learn that , nevertheless I heartily wish it might be before St. John's Day." This same day, asked if she said it would happen before Martinmas, she answered that she had said that many things would be seen before then ; and it might well be that the English would be overthrown and stricken to the ground. Asked what she told John Grey, her guard, in prison, about Martinmas, she answered : " I have told you ! " Asked through whom she knew it would happen before Martinmas, she answered that she knew it from St. Catherine and St. Margaret. This same Thursday, March 1st, asked what promises St. Catherine and St. Margaret made her, she answered : " That is not in your case ",

and, amongst other things, they told her that her king should be re established in his kingdom, whether his enemies wished it or not. The same day she said she knew well that her king would regain the kingdom of France, as well as she knew we were there.

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked if the voices told her anything in a general way, she answered "Yes, indeed, they told me I shall be delivered, but I do not know the day or the hour, and that I must boldly show a cheerful countenance before you."

On Saturday, March 10th, asked if the sally at Compiegne was made at the instruction of her voices, she answered that in Easter week last, when she was in the trenches at Melun, she was told by the voices of St Catherine and St Margaret that she would be captured before St John's Day, it had to be so, and she should not be distressed, but take everything in good part, and God would aid her. This same day, asked if since Melun she had been told by her voices that she would be captured, she answered yes, several times, nearly every day. She asked of her voices that when she was taken she might die quickly without long suffering in prison, and her voices told her to be resigned, that it must so happen, but they did not tell her when. If she had known when she was to be captured, she would not have gone. She had often asked them, but they did not tell her. The same day she said that when she had to leave for her king, she was told by her voices "Go boldly, when thou art in the king's presence, he shall have a good sign to receive thee and believe in thee."

On Monday, March 12th, asked how she would have delivered the Duke of Orleans, she answered she would have taken enough English prisoners in this district to ransom him, and if she had not taken enough, she would have crossed the sea to fetch him by force from England. Asked if St Catherine and St Margaret had told her absolutely and unconditionally that she

would take enough prisoners to ransom the Duke, who was in England, or else she should cross the sea to fetch him and bring him back within three years, she answered yes, and she told the king to let her have her way with the prisoners. She added that if she had gone on for three years unhindered she would have delivered him. She said that she needed less than three years and more than one, but does not now remember

On Wednesday, March 14th, asked to what peril and danger we, bishop and clerics, expose ourselves by trying her, she answered that St. Catherine told her she should have help, she does not know whether this will be her deliverance from prison, or if, whilst she is being tried, some tumult may arise through which she can be delivered. She thinks it will be one or the other; and most often her voices tell her she will be delivered by a great victory. And then they say. "Take everything peacefully; have no care for thy martyrdom."

XXXIV

"The said Jeanne, persisting in her rash and presumptuous ways, has declared, spread abroad and published that she is able to recognize and distinguish the voices of God's archangels, angels, and saints, affirming that she can distinguish them from human voices"

To this thirty-fourth article on Wednesday, March 28th, Jeanne replies that she abides by her former answers in this connexion and in respect of her rashness and the end of the article, she refers herself to the judgment of Our Lord

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked if it was the voice of an angel, or of a saint, or of God Himself, which spoke to her, she answered that it was the voice of St. Catherine or St. Margaret. Their heads were crowned in rich and precious fashion with beautiful crowns. "And to tell this", she said, "I have God's

permission If you doubt it, send to Poitiers where I was examined before " The same day, asked how she knew one saint from the other, she answered that she knew them by the greeting they gave her, and because they tell her their names

On Thursday, March 1st, asked how she knew whether her apparition was man or woman, she answered ' I know well, and I recognize the saints by their voices,' and because they revealed themselves to her The same day, asked what part of them she saw, she answered the face Asked if they had hair, she answered " It is well to know they have " Asked if there were anything between their crowns and their hair, she answered no Asked if their hair were long and hung down, she answered ' I do not know ' She added that she did not know whether they appeared to have arms or other members She said they spoke very well and beautifully, and she understood them well Asked how they spoke if they had no other members, she answered ' I refer me to God ' On March 15th, asked if she had no other sign that these apparitions were good spirits, she answered ' St Michael certified it before the voices came to me " Asked how she knew it was St Michael, she answered ' By the angels speech and tongue,' and she firmly believed they were angels Asked how she knew it was the speech of angels, she answered that she believed it very soon and had the desire to believe it She added that St Michael, when he came to her, told her that St Catherine and St Margaret would come to her, that she should follow their counsel, and that they were instructed to lead her and advise her what she had to do , and that she should believe what they said, for it was at Our Lord s command Asked how she would tell if he were a good or evil spirit if the Enemy put himself in the form and guise of an angel, she answered that she would certainly know whether it was St Michael or a counterfeit in his likeness She answered that at first she had

grave doubts whether it was St. Michael, and the first time she was afraid ; and she saw him many times before she knew it was St. Michael. Asked how she knew then rather than on the first occasion that it was St. Michael who had appeared to her, she replied that the first time she was a young girl and was afraid ; since then St. Michael taught her and showed her so many things that she firmly believed it was he. Asked what doctrine he taught her, she answered that in all things he told her to be a good child and God would help her ; and amongst other things he told her she should go to the aid of the king of France. A great part of what the angel taught her is in this book, and the angel told her of the great pity that was in the kingdom of France.

XXXV

“ The said Jeanne hath boasted and affirmed that she is able to tell whom God loves and whom He hates ”

To this thirty-fifth article, this Wednesday, March 28th, she answers : “ I abide by what I have already answered, with regard to the king and the Duke of Orleans ”, of other folk, she knows nothing. She says she knows very well that God loves her king and the Duke of Orleans more than her, for their bodily ease ; and she knows this by revelation.

On Thursday, February 22nd, she said that she knows God loves greatly the Duke of Orleans, and also that she had had more revelations about him than any man alive, save her king.

On Saturday, February 24th, asked if she could so influence the voice that it would obey her and take news to her king, she answered that she did not know whether the voice would obey her unless it were God's will, and God consented thereto. “ And if it please God He will be able to send revelations to the king, and with this I shall be well pleased.” Asked why this voice no longer speaks with the king as it did when

Jeanne was in his presence, she answered that she does not know if it be not God's will

On Saturday, March 17th, asked how she knows that St Margaret and St Catherine hate the English, she answered 'They love those whom God loves, and hate whom He hates' Asked if God hates the English, she answers that she knows nothing of God's love or hatred, or what God will do to their souls, but she is certain that with the exception of those who shall die there, they will be driven out of France, and that God will send victory to the French and against the English Asked if God was for the English when they were prospering in France, she answered that she knew not whether God hated the French, but she believed it was His will to suffer them to be beaten for their sins, if they were in a state of sin

XXXVI

"The said Jeanne hath declared, affirmed, and boasted, and still doth, from day to day, that she knows and hath truly known, and not she alone, but also other men at her request have truly known and recognized a certain voice, which she calls her voice, which came to her, although, by its nature, the said voice which she describes and hath described, must have been and is invisible to every human creature"

To this thirty-sixth article the said Jeanne answers that she abides by her earlier answers

On Thursday, February 22nd, she said that those of her party knew well that the voice was sent from God, and that they saw and knew it, this she knew well Moreover, she said that her king and several others heard and saw the voice which came to her, and there were present Charles de Bourbon and two or three others

XXXVII

The said Jeanne confesses that she has often done the opposite of what the revelations she boasts to receive

from God enjoined and commanded her ; for example, when she left Saint-Denis, after the assault at Paris , when she jumped from the tower at Beaurevoir, and on other occasions. Wherein it is manifest, either that she has not had revelations from God or she has scorned the instructions and express revelations by which she proclaims she is wholly influenced and governed. Moreover she said, when she was ordered not to jump from the tower, and was tempted to do the opposite, that she could not do otherwise. Wherein she appears to hold erroneous opinions of men's free will and to fall into the error of those who advance that it is conditioned by fatal prescriptions, or something of similar import "

To this thirty-seventh article, this Wednesday, March 28th, she answers : " I refer to my earlier answers," yet she added that she had received permission for her departure from Saint-Denis. Asked whether by acting against the instruction of her voices she did not believe herself in mortal sin, she answered : " I have already answered this, and I refer to that answer." And, in respect of the conclusion of the article, she commits herself to God.

On Thursday, February 22nd, she said that her voice told her to remain at Saint-Denis in France (and she wished to remain), but against her will the lords took her away. Nevertheless, if she had not been wounded she would not have gone. She was wounded in the trenches before Paris, and said that she recovered in five days.

On Saturday, March 10th, asked whether, if her voices had ordered her to make the attack from Compiègne and had told her she would be captured, she would have gone, she answered that if she had known when she was to be captured she would not have gone willingly ; nevertheless, she would have done their bidding in the end, whatever it cost her.

On Thursday, March 15th, asked if she ever did anything against the instruction and will of her voices,

she answered that she did and performed with all her might that which she could and was able to do. As for her leap from the tower at Beaurevoir, which she did against their bidding, she could not help herself, and when her voices saw her need, and that she could in no way hold herself back, they lent aid to her life and prevented her from being killed. Moreover, she said that whatever she did in her great ventures, they succoured her, and this is a sign that they are good spirits.

The same day, asked if she did not believe it to be a great sin to anger St Catherine and St Margaret who appear to her, and to do contrary to their bidding, she answers yes, but she knows how to atone for it. What angered them most of all in her opinion was the leap at Beaurevoir, wherein she asked their forgiveness, and for other offences she had committed against them.

XXXVIII

"The said Jeanne, although from her youth up she has uttered, committed, and perpetrated many sins, crimes, errors and faults, shameful, cruel, scandalous, dishonourable and unfitting to her sex, nevertheless proclaims and affirms that everything she has done is at God's bidding and according to His will, that she has never done anything which does not proceed from Him, through the revelations of His holy saints and blessed virgins Catherine and Margaret."

To this thirty-eighth article, Jeanne answers that she refers to her earlier replies in this connexion.

On Saturday, February 24th, she said that but for God's grace she could do nothing. The same day, asked if the people of Domremy were on the side of the Burgundians or the others, she answered that she only knew one Burgundian in the village and she would have been quite willing for him to have his head cut off, if it had pleased God. Asked if in her youth her voice told her to hate the Burgundians, she answered

that since she knew the voices were for the king of France, she did not like the Burgundians.

On Thursday, March 15th, asked if in battle she had done anything without the counsel of her voices, she answered : " You have my answer to this , read your book carefully, and you will find it." Nevertheless she said that at the request of men-at-arms she made an attack before Paris, and also before La Charité at her king's request. It was neither against nor according to the commands of her voices. Asked if she ever did anything contrary to their command and will, she answered as is contained in the preceding article.

XXXIX

" Although *the just man falleth seven times in a day*, nevertheless the said Jeanne utters and publishes that she has never committed, or at least never has to her knowledge committed, acts of mortal sin, notwithstanding that she has in reality performed all the acts (and others worse still) customary to fighting men ; as it is declared in the preceding and following articles."

To this thirty-ninth article this Wednesday, March 28th, she answers : " I have answered this. I abide by my earlier answers."

On Saturday, February 24th, asked if she knows if she is in God's grace, she answered : " If I am not, may God put me there, and if I am, may God so keep me." She said she would be the saddest creature in the world if she were not in God's grace, and added that if she were in a state of sin, she did not think the voice would come to her, and wished everyone could hear it as well as she did.

On Thursday, March 1st, she said she is very glad when she sees her voice, and thinks when she sees it she cannot be in mortal sin. She says St Catherine and St. Margaret in turn gladly hear her in confession, and if she is in mortal sin, she is not aware of it. Asked if, when she confesses, she feels as if in mortal sin, she

answered that she did not know whether she is in a state of mortal sin, but does not think she has committed such deeds. "Please God," she said, "I never was, and if it please Him, I never shall commit or have committed such deeds as burden my soul."

On Wednesday, March 14th, asked whether it was not mortal sin to take a man at ransom and put him to death, a prisoner, she answered that she had not done that. And as mention was made of a certain Franquet d'Arras, who was sent to Lagny to be put to death, she answered that she was consenting to his death if he had deserved it, since he had confessed himself a murderer, a thief, and a traitor. His trial lasted, she said, for a fortnight, and he was tried by the Bailly of Senlis and a jury of the people of Lagny. She said she had asked to have Franquet exchanged for a man from Paris, the landlord of the *Bear Inn* and when she heard of the death of the landlord, and the Bailly told her she would be doing great wrong to justice by delivering this Franquet, she said to the Bailly: "Since the man I wanted is dead, do with this fellow as justice demands." And when she was reminded that she had attacked Paris on a Feast Day, and that she had had the lord Bishop of Senlis's horse, and that she had thrown herself from the tower at Beaurevoir, and that she wore man's dress, she was asked if she did not believe she had committed mortal sin. She answered firstly, concerning the attack on Paris she did not think she was in mortal sin, and if she were, it was for God, and the priest in confession, to know it. Secondly, concerning the bishop's horse, she answered that she firmly believes that she did not therein commit mortal sin, for the lord Bishop of Senlis received a warrant for 200 gold *saluts* for the horse. Thirdly, concerning the tower of Beaurevoir, she answered that she did not leap out of despair, but in hope of saving her body and of going to the aid of many good people in need, and after the leap she confessed herself and

asked forgiveness of God, which she received, and she thinks it was wrong to make that leap. She knows she received pardon after her confession from a revelation of St. Catherine's, at whose counsel she confessed herself. Fourthly, concerning the man's dress, she answered : " Since I do it by God's command, and in His service, I do not think I do wrong , and as soon as it shall please God to command, I will put it off."

XL

" The said Jeanne, forgetful of her salvation and at the instigation of the Devil, is not and has not been ashamed from time to time and in many divers places to receive the Body of Christ in dissolute male attire, a costume forbidden and prohibited her by the command of God and the Church "

To this fortieth article, Jeanne answers : " I have answered this and I refer to my earlier answer," and in conclusion, submits to God.

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked whether when she was journeying through the country she often received the sacraments of the Eucharist and of Confession when she came to the good towns, she answered yes, from time to time. Asked if she received the sacraments in man's dress, she answered yes, but does not remember receiving them in armour.

XLI

" The said Jeanne, like a madwoman, out of hatred and scorn for the English, and also from fear of the destruction of Compiègne, which she had heard of, tried to cast herself from the top of a high tower, and at the instigation of the devil, decided to do so, attempting and performing all she could to accomplish this end ; in this manner she cast herself, incited or induced by a diabolical instinct, more anxious for the safety of her body than the salvation of her soul, and of other

souls , boasting often that she would rather die than let herself be delivered into the hands of the English ”

To this forty-first article, Jeanne answers “ I refer to the answers I have already made ”

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked if she was long in the town of Beaurevoir, she answered that she was there for about four months , and when she heard that the English were to come, she was very angry, and though her voices forbade her to jump from the tower, at last, from fear of the English, she leapt and commended herself to God and Our Lady Asked if she had said that she would rather die than fall into the hands of the English, she answered that she would rather surrender her soul to God than fall into their hands

On Wednesday, March 14th, asked why she jumped from the tower of Beaurevoir, she answered that she had heard that the people of Compiègne, all of them to the age of seven years, were to be put to fire and to the sword , and she would rather die than live after such a destruction of good people That was one reason why she jumped , the other was that she knew she had been sold to the English, and she would have died rather than fall into their hands Asked if her leap was made at the counsel of her voices, she answered that St Catherine told her almost every day not to jump, and God would aid her and the people of Compiègne too But Jeanne told St Catherine that since God was going to help the people of Compiègne, she wanted to be there , and St Catherine said “ You must be resigned and not falter , you will not be delivered until you have seen the King of the English ” Jeanne answered “ Truly I do not want to see him, and I would rather die than fall into the hands of the English ” She said that after her fall from the tower she was two or three days without desire to eat, yet she was comforted by St Catherine who told her to confess and ask God s forgiveness for having cast herself down , and the people of Compiègne would have aid without

fall before Martinmas in winter ; and then she began to eat and drink, and soon after was well Asked if when she regained her speech after her fall she denied God and His Saints, she answered that she did not remember that she had ever denied God or His Saints. Asked if she was willing to abide by the evidence collected or to be collected, she answered that she would leave it to God, and none other.

XLII

“ The said Jeanne has said and publicly declared that St. Catherine, St Margaret, and St. Michael have corporal members such as head, eyes, face, etc. ; and added that she has touched these saints with her hands and has embraced and kissed them.”

To this forty-second article, Jeanne answers : “ I have answered this and refer to my earlier statements in respect of this.”

Now on Saturday, March 17th, asked whether she ever kissed or embraced St Catherine and St. Margaret, she answered that she had embraced them both, and they had a fine odour. Asked if, when she embraced them, she felt heat or anything else, she answered that she could not embrace them without feeling or touching them. Asked what part of them she embraced, their head or their feet, she answered that it is more fitting to embrace their feet.

XLIII

“ The said Jeanne has said and publicly declared that the saints, angels, and archangels speak French and not English, and that the saints, angels and archangels are not on the side of the English but of the French, affirming to their scorn that the saints in glory look with hatred on a Catholic realm and a country given to the veneration of all the saints according to the instruction of the Church ”

To this forty-third article, which was explained to

her word by word, Jeanne answered nothing beyond "I refer me to Our Lord and to my earlier answers"

On Thursday, March 1st, she said that the voice is fair, soft and meek, and speaks French. Asked if this voice, that is St Margaret, spoke English, she answered "Why should she speak English? She is not on the English side"

XLIV

"The said Jeanne boasted and proclaimed, and still does, that St Catherine and St Margaret promised to lead her to Paradise and assured her of salvation if she kept her virginity, and that she is assured of salvation"

To this forty-fourth article, Jeanne answers "I refer me to Our Lord and my earlier answers"

On Thursday, February 22nd, she said that she never asked of the voice any other final reward than the salvation of her soul

[On Wednesday, March 14th] asked whether since her voices told her she will go in the end to the kingdom of Paradise, she feels assured of her salvation, and safe from damnation in hell, she answered that she firmly believes what her voices told her, namely, that she will be saved, as firmly as if she were already in Paradise. And when she was told that this was an answer of great weight, she replied that she held it for a great treasure, and meant, in respect of this article, provided she kept her oath and promise to Our Lord, that is, to keep safe her virginity of body and of soul. Asked whether after this revelation she believes it possible for her to commit mortal sin, she answered "I do not know, but commit myself to God in all things". Asked if she need confess, since she believes from the revelation of her voices that she will be saved, she answered that she does not know of having committed mortal sin, but if she were in mortal sin, she thinks St Catherine and St Margaret would at once abandon her, and believes one cannot too much cleanse one's

conscience. She said on Thursday, March 1st, that her saints promised to lead her to Paradise, and so she had asked them to do.

XLV

“Although the judgments of God are altogether inscrutable to us, nevertheless the said Jeanne has said, uttered, declared, and proclaimed that she has known and knows who are the saints, angels, and archangels, the elect of God ; and that she can distinguish them from one another.”

To this forty-fifth article, Jeanne answers : “ I refer to my earlier answers.”

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked how and why she knew it was St. Catherine and St. Margaret who appeared to her, and how she told one from the other, she answered that she knew well who they were and easily recognized one from the other.

On Thursday, March 1st, asked if the saints always appeared to her in the same dress, she answered that she always saw them in one and the same form, and their heads are richly crowned, and of their other clothing she does not speak, nor know anything of their robes

On Saturday, March 3rd, she said that she saw clearly St. Catherine and St. Margaret and her other apparitions, and knows they are saints of Paradise.

XLVI

“She says that she very affectionately interceded with St. Catherine and St. Margaret for the people of Compiègne, before taking her leap, saying to them, among other things, by way of reproach : ‘And how shall God suffer the people of Compiègne to die so wretchedly, who are so faithful to Him !’ Wherein appear her impatience and irreverence towards God and His Saints.”

To this forty-sixth article, Jeanne answers : “ I refer to my earlier answers.”

On Saturday, March 3rd, she said that after she was wounded by leaping from the tower of Beaurevoir, the voice of St Catherine told her to be of good cheer and she would recover, and the people of Compiègne would have aid, she said that she often prayed with her counsel for the Compiègne folk.

XLVII

“The said Jeanne, displeased with wounds she received from her fall or leap from the tower of Beaurevoir, and vexed that she had not realized her plan, blasphemed God and His Saints, shamefully denied them, and terribly scorned them to the horror of all who were present, and further, since she has been in the castle of Rouen, on many different days she has blasphemed and denied God, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, bearing with impatience and protesting against the fact that she is brought to trial before and is to be judged by the clergy.”

To this forty-seventh article, Jeanne answers I refer me to Our Lord and to my answers in this connexion.

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked whether she was not vexed and angry after jumping from the tower, and whether she did not blaspheme the Name of God, she answered that she never cursed the Saints, and it was not her custom to swear. Asked about Soissons, where her captain had surrendered the town, and whether she denied God, and said that if she captured the captain she would have him drawn and quartered, she answered that she never denied the Saints, and those who reported so were mistaken.

On Wednesday, March 14th, asked whether since she had been in this prison she had not denied or blasphemed God, she answered no sometimes when she said *bon gre Dieu* or *saint Jehan* or *Nostre Dame*, those who reported the words may have misunderstood

XLVIII

“The said Jeanne declared that she believed and believes that the spirits which appeared to her were angels, archangels and saints of God, as firmly as she believes in the Christian faith, and in the articles of this faith, although she reports no sign sufficient to know them by ; moreover, in this she consulted no bishop, priest or other prelate of the Church, or any other cleric to discover whether she should give credence to such spirits , and declares that she was forbidden by her voices to reveal these communications to anyone except a captain of soldiers, to the said Charles, and to other purely secular persons. Wherein she confesses that her credulity is rash, her opinions on the articles of the faith and their foundations erroneous ; and in addition that she had suspicious revelations which she hid from prelates and the clergy and made known by preference to secular persons.”

To this forty-eighth article, Jeanne answers : “ I have given you my reply and refer to what is written down ” As for the signs, if those who ask for them are not worthy, she cannot help that. Many times she has prayed to God that it please Him to reveal them to some of her party, and she added that for believing in her revelations she did not ask the advice of bishop or priest or any other She said that she believes it was St Michael, from the good doctrine he taught her.

Asked whether St. Michael said to her “ I am St. Michael ”, she answers “ I have already answered ”, and in respect of the end of the article, says : “ I refer me to Our Lord.” She says she believes, as firmly as she believes Our Lord suffered death to redeem us from the pains of hell, that it is St. Michael, St Gabriel, St Catherine and St. Margaret, that Our Lord sends to comfort and advise her.

On Saturday, February 24th, she said that she firmly believes, as firmly as she believes in the Christian faith

and that Our Lord redeemed us from the pains of hell, that this voice comes from God and at His command

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked if she believes that St Michael and St Gabriel have natural heads, she answered she had seen them with her own eyes and believes they are St Michael and St Gabriel as firmly as she believes in the existence of God Asked whether she believes God created them with the heads she saw, she answered ' I have seen them with my own eyes, and will not tell you any more ! '

Asked whether she believes God created them in the shape and form she saw, she answered yes

On Monday, March 13th, asked whether she has not spoken of her visions to her priest or any other cleric, she answered no, only to Robert de Baudricourt and to her king She added that she was not constrained by the voices to conceal them, but was afraid to speak of them for fear of the Burgundians, lest they should prevent her journey The same day, asked if she thought it right to leave without the permission of her father and mother, since one should honour one's father and mother, she answered that she obeyed them in all things except for this departure , and since then she had written to them, and they have forgiven her

XLIX

' The said Jeanne with no reason beyond her imagination, venerated spirits of this sort, kissing the earth where she saw they passed, kneeling before them, embracing and kissing them, and doing them other reverence, giving them thanks, putting her hands together and entering into familiarity with them , yet she did not know whether they were good spirits, and moreover considering the circumstances they must be judged by her to be and manifestly are more evil than good Which cult and veneration seem to partake of idolatry and to proceed from a pact made with devils "

To this forty-ninth article on this Wednesday,

March 28th, Jeanne answered, in respect of the beginning, "I have answered this", and of the end, "I refer me to Our Lord."

On Saturday, February 24th, asked whether she did not thank the voice which appeared to her, and knelt down before it, she answered that she thought so, but was sitting on the bed, and she put her hands together, and this was after she had knelt down at first.

On Saturday, March 10th, asked whether when she showed the sign when it came to her knees, or whether it came from God, she answered that she thanked Our Lord for her deliverance from the troubles which came from the opposition of the clergy of her party, and she knelt down many times. The same day, asked whether kneeling and she did reverence to the angel when he brought the sign, she answered that for her part she did, she knelt down and uncovered her head.

On Monday, March 12th, asked whether he spoke to Our Lord when she promised Him to keep her virginity, she answered that it ought to be quite enough to promise it to those who were sent from Him, namely St. Catherine and St. Margaret. She said that the first time she heard her voice she vowed to keep her virginity as long as it should please God, and was then about thirteen years old. The same day, asked whether he did reverence to St. Michael and the angel when he saw them, she answered that she did, and knelt the ground where they had passed after they were gone.

On Thursday, March 15th, asked whether when her voices come to her she bows down altogether, as to a saint, she answers yes; and if sometimes she has failed to do so, she afterwards asked forgiveness, nor could she do them the reverence proper to them, for she fully believes them to be St. Catherine and St. Margaret. She said the same in respect of St. Michael. This same day, asked whether she had not made offerings to the saints, who come to her, of burning candles or other things, in church, or elsewhere, or had Masses said, she

answered no, except at Mass, in the priest's hands, and in honour of St Catherine. She believes that St Catherine is one of them that appear to her, nor has she lit as many candles to St Catherine and St Margaret who are in Paradise as she gladly would, for she fully believes it is they who come to her. Asked the same day whether when she puts these candles before the images of St Catherine she does it in honour of the saint who appears to her, she answered "I do it in honour of God, of Our Lady, of St Catherine, who is in heaven, and I make no difference between St Catherine who is in heaven and her who appears to me." Asked this same day whether she always did or accomplished the bidding of her voices, she answered that with all her might she accomplished the behest which Our Lord spake through her voices, as far as she could understand, and they bade her nothing without the good pleasure of Our Lord.

On Saturday, March 17th, asked if she did not give chaplets of flowers to the saints who appeared to her, she answered that in honour of these saints she gave many chaplets to their images or representations in churches, but as far as she remembers she has not presented any to those who appear to her. Asked whether when she hung chaplets on the aforementioned tree she did it in honour of the saints who appeared to her, she answered no. The same day, asked whether when the saints came to her she did not do them reverence, as by kneeling or bowing, she answered yes. the more she could do them reverence the more she did, for she knows well they are saints of Paradise.

L

The said Jeanne frequently and daily invokes these spirits, consulting them in her private actions, for example in the answers she should make in her trial, and in other subjects, which appears and constitutes an invocation of demons

To this fiftieth article on Wednesday, March 28th, the said Jeanne answers : " I have answered this," and she will call them to her aid as long as she shall live.

Asked in what manner she approaches them, she answers : " I beg Our Lord and Our Lady to send me their counsel and comfort and then they send it to me "

Asked with what words she beseeches them, she answers that she beseeches them in this manner : "*Very sweet Lord, in honour of Thy holy passion, I beseech Thee, if Thou lovest me, to reveal to me how I am to answer these churchfolk. I know well, in the matter of the dress, the command by which I took it, but I do not know how I am to leave it off. In this, may it please Thee to instruct me*" And then they come immediately. Often, she said, she has news through her voices of the bishop of Beauvais.

Asked what they say of Us, she answered : " I will tell you apart," and on that very day they had come thrice to her.

Asked if they were in her room, she answered : " I have answered you in this ; nevertheless I hear them well." She says St Catherine and St Margaret told her in what way she should reply in respect of the dress.

On Saturday, February 24th, she said the voice told her to answer boldly , and that when she awakened from sleep, she asked counsel of the voice in what she should reply, telling the voice to ask counsel of Our Lord , the voice told her to answer boldly and God would comfort her The same day, asked whether before she questioned it the voice did not address certain words to her, she said the voice did, but she did not understand them all. However, when she awoke, she understood the voice to tell her to answer boldly. She said that night she had heard the voice say " Answer boldly "

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked what the voice had told her, she said that since last Saturday she had asked advice on certain points of our examinations in the trial. Asked if the voice had given her counsel

on certain points, she answered yes, upon certain, and that on others she might be asked questions which she would not answer without leave. If she replied without leave perhaps she would not have the voices for warrant, but when she had leave from Our Lord she would not be afraid to speak, for then she would have a good warrant. The same day, asked how she could distinguish such points as she would answer, and such as she would not, she answered that on some points she had asked permission, and on some she had received it.

On Monday, March 12th, asked whether the angel did not deceive her in respect of the good things of fortune, when she was taken, she answered that she thought that since it pleased God, it was better for her to be taken prisoner. Asked whether the angel did not fail her in respect of the good things of grace, she answered "How should he fail me when he comforts me every day?" And she believes the comfort is St Catherine and St Margaret. Asked if she calls them or if they come without being called, she answered that they often come without being called, and sometimes, if they did not come, she would pray to God to send them. Asked if she sometimes had called them without them coming, she answered that she never needed them, however little, but they came to her.

On Wednesday, March 13th, asked whether she had spoken to St Catherine since the day before, she answered that she has heard her since then, and notwithstanding was told many times to answer the judges boldly what they should ask her touching the case.

On Wednesday, March 14th, asked whether her voices required a delay for answering, she says St Catherine answers her sometimes but sometimes Jeanne fails to understand her, because of the tumult of the prison and the din from her guards. When she makes a request to St Catherine, St Catherine and St Margaret immediately take it to Our Lord, and then, at Our Lord's bidding, give answer to Jeanne. Asked whether

there is a light with the saints when they come to her, and whether she does not see a light, when she hears the voice in the castle, and whether she did not know if the voice was in her room, she answered that no day passes but they come to her in the castle of Rouen, and they do not come without light, and on this occasion when she heard the voice she does not remember if she saw the light, nor if she saw St. Catherine. She said she asked three things of her voices, namely first, her deliverance; second, that God should help the French and keep the towns in their control; and third, the salvation of her soul.

LI

“The said Jeanne has not feared to boast that St. Michael, God’s archangel, came to her with a great multitude of angels in the castle of Chinon, and in the house of a certain woman, that he walked with her, holding her by the hand, climbing together with her the castle steps and entering the king’s chamber; that this archangel did reverence to the king, bowed before him, accompanied by other angels, as is declared above; some of them were crowned, others had wings. To say this of archangels and of holy angels must be held presumptuous, rash, deceitful; especially seeing that it is not written that any man, however upright, nor even Our Lady, Mother of God, received such reverence or greetings. Often she said that there came to her the archangel Gabriel, St Michael, and sometimes a million angels. Moreover, the said Jeanne boasts that at her prayer the said angel brought with him, in this company of angels, a most precious crown for her king, to put upon his head, and that it is now put into the king’s treasury, with it, according to Jeanne, the king would have been crowned at Rheims if he had waited a few days, but owing to the haste with which his coronation was carried out he took another. These are less divine revelations than lies invented by Jeanne,

suggested or shown to her by the demon in illusive apparitions, in order to mock at her imagination whilst she meddled with things which are beyond her and superior to the faculty of her condition "

To this fifty-first article on Wednesday, March 28th, Jeanne answers that she has already replied in respect of the angel who brought the sign. As for the promoter's statement about millions of angels, she answers that she has no recollection of having spoken thus of the number. She did say that she was never wounded, but she had great comfort and aid from Our Lord and St Catherine and St Margaret.

In respect of the crown, she says she has answered, and of the end of the article, and likewise of where the crown was made, she refers to God.

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked if there was an angel above the king's head when she saw him for the first time, she answered "By Our Lady, if there was I do not know of it, and did not see it." Asked if there was a light, she answered that there were more than 300 knights and more than fifty torches, not counting the spiritual light, and she seldom had revelations without a light. Asked why her king put faith in her sayings, she answered that he had good instructions concerning them from the clerks. She said that the clerks of her party were of the opinion that nothing but good would come of her mission.

On Thursday, March 1st, asked whether her king had a crown at Rheims, she answered that she believes he gladly took one which he found at Rheims, but a much richer one had been since brought, he did so to hasten his coronation at the request of the townsfolk and to avoid the burden of the soldiers, and if he had waited he would have been crowned with a crown a thousand times richer. Asked whether she saw this richer crown, she answered that she cannot tell without committing perjury, and that if she did not see it, she heard that it is of such wealth.

On Saturday, March 10th, asked what the sign was which came to her king, she answered that it was fair, honourable, and most credible ; rich and good, the richest in the world. Asked why she will not tell or show the sign, as she wanted to have Catherine de La Rochelle's sign, she answered that she would not have asked to know Catherine's sign if it had been as well shown as her own sign was before notable ecclesiastics, and others, archbishops and bishops, whose names she does not know, Charles de Bourbon, the Sire de la Trémouille, the Duke d'Alençon, and many other knights saw and heard it as plainly as she saw those speaking to her then. Moreover, she knew well through St. Catherine and St Margaret that the affairs of this Catherine were as nothing at all. Asked whether the sign still exists she answered . " It is good to know that it does ; it will last a thousand years, and more." She said the sign is with the king's treasure. Asked whether it was gold, silver, or precious stone, or a crown, she answered : " I will tell you no more. No man could describe a thing so rich as this sign," and added " The sign you need is for God to deliver me out of your hands, the most certain sign He could show you." The same day she said that an angel from God and from none other gave the sign to her king ; and for this she thanked Our Lord many times. She said the clergy of her party ceased opposing her when they had this sign. Asked whether the clergy of her party saw the sign, she answered that when her king and those who were with him saw the sign, and also the angel who bore it, she asked the king if he were content, and he replied yes. Then she left, and went to a little chapel hard by, and heard that after her departure more than 300 people saw the sign. She added that for her sake and to stop men from catechizing her, God willed that those of her party who were there should see the sign.

On Monday, March 12th, asked whether the angel that brought the sign did not speak, she answered yes,

he told her king to set me to work, and the country would straightway be relieved. Asked whether the angel who brought the sign was the same that first appeared to her, or whether it was another, she answered that it was always the same one, and he never failed her. The same day, asked about the sign she gave the king, she said she would take counsel from St Catherine concerning it.

On Tuesday, March 13th, when examined upon the sign she gave her king, and what it was, she answered

Would you be content if I perjured myself? " Asked if she had vowed and promised St Catherine not to tell this sign, she answered I swore and promised not to tell this sign, of my own accord, because I was too much pressed to tell it. Then she said she would not speak of it to any man. The same day she told that the sign was that an angel assured her king by bringing him the crown and saying he should possess the whole and entire kingdom of France, by God's help and the labours of Jeanne and he was to put her to work, that is to say, to give her soldiers, else he would not so soon be crowned and consecrated. The same day, asked how the angel brought the crown, and whether he placed it on the king's head, she answered that the crown was given to an archbishop, namely the archbishop of Rheims, in the king's presence, so it seemed to her, and the archbishop received it and gave it to the king, and Jeanne was present, and it was put in the king's treasure. Asked where the crown was brought, she answered that it was in the king's chamber, in the castle of Chinon. Asked on what day and at what hour, she answered 'Of the day, I know nothing, of the hour, it was late,' beyond that she did not remember the hour. Of the month, it was in April or March, she thought, and in next April or the present month it will be two years ago, and it was after Easter. Asked whether the first day she saw the sign the king also saw it, she answered yes, he himself received it. Asked what the crown was made of, she

answered . “ It is good to know that it was of pure gold,” and was so rich that she could not count its richness, and it signified that her king would gain the kingdom of France. Asked whether there were precious stones in it, she answered . “ I have told you what I know.” Asked if she held it or kissed it, she said no. Asked whether the angel who brought it came from on high or from the earth, she answered that he came from on high, meaning that he came at Our Lord’s command and entered the room by the door. Asked whether the angel walked on the ground from the door, she answered that when he came before her king he did the king reverence by bowing before him, and pronouncing the words of the sign which Jeanne said above, and with this the angel recalled to the king the sweet patience he had shown in the great tribulation which had befallen him, walked and came forward from the door on the ground, moving towards the king. Asked how far it was from the door to the king, she answered that she thought it was a good lance-length , and the angel went out by the way he came . She said that when the angel came she accompanied him, and went with him by the stairs to the king’s chamber, and the angel went in first, and then she said to the king . “ Sire, here is your sign, take it.” Asked where it was the angel appeared to her, she answered that she was nearly always praying God to send the king a sign ; she was in her lodging in the house of a good woman near the castle of Rouen when the angel came. Then they went together to the king, and the angel was well accompanied by other angels whom no one saw, and but for her sake and to release her from the trouble of opposition she thought that many who saw the angel would not have seen him. Asked whether all who were with the king saw the angel she answered that she thinks the Archbishop of Rheims, de la Trémouille, and Charles de Bourbon saw him, and many churchmen and others who did not see the angel saw the crown. Asked of

what appearance and size the angel was, she answered that she has not leave to tell that, and will answer to-morrow. Asked if all who were in the company of the angel were of the same appearance, she answered that some were fairly similar, and some, as far as she could see, were not, some had wings and some crowns, and others had not and in their company were St Catherine and St Margaret, who were with the said angel and the other angels up to the very chamber of the king. Asked how the angel left her, she said he left her in the little chapel, and she was much vexed at his leaving, and wept, and would have gladly gone with him, that is her soul would. Asked whether at the angel's departure she remained happy or afraid and in great terror, she answered that he did not leave her in fear, but she was vexed at his leaving. Asked whether it was for any merit of hers that God sent His angel, she answered that he came with a great purpose, and in hope that the king would believe the sign, and she would be left without opposition, to help the good people of Orleans, and also for the merit of her king and the good Duke of Orleans. Asked why he had come to her rather than to another, she answered "It pleased God to do so by a simple maid to drive back the king's enemies." Asked whether she had been told whence the angel had first taken the crown, she answered that it was brought from God, and no goldsmith on earth could make one so rich and fair, but where it came from, in respect of this she refers herself to God, and knows nothing more of it. Asked if the crown had a good odour and whether it glittered, she answered that she does not remember and will think it over afterwards she said it had and would always have a good odour, but must be well and duly guarded and it was in the form of a crown. Asked whether the angel had not written her letters, she answered no. Asked what sign the king received, and the people who were with him and her, to convince them that it was an angel who appeared to them, she answered that the king

believed it by the teaching of the Churchmen who were there, and by the sign of the crown. Asked how the Churchmen knew it was an angel, she answered that they knew by their learning and because they were clerks

LII

“The said Jeanne has so misled the Catholic people by her inventions that many adored her as a saint in her presence and even adore her in her absence, ordering Masses and collects in church in reverence of her, nay, they declare her to be greater than all God’s saints, after Our Lady; they set up her images on the altars of Saints, wear medals of lead or other metal in her likeness, like those made for the anniversaries of saints canonized by the Church; and they preach in public that she is sent from God, an angel rather than a woman. These are most scandalous actions, hurtful to the Christian religion and dangerous to the salvation of souls.”

To this fifty-second article, this Wednesday, March 28th, Jeanne answers that, in respect of the beginning she has already given answer, and of the end, that she refers to Our Lord.

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked whether she ever knew brother Richard, she answered: “I had never seen him when I came before Troyes.” Asked what manner of greeting he gave her, she answered that the people of Troyes, she thought, sent him to her, saying that they were afraid she was not a thing sent from God; and when he drew near her, he made the sign of the cross and sprinkled holy water, and she said to him: “Come boldly, I shall not fly away.” Asked whether she has not seen or made any images or pictures in her likeness, she answered that at Arras she saw a painting in the hands of a Scot, she was shown in full armour, presenting letters to her king, with one knee on the ground. Asked about a certain painting, at her host’s house in Orleans, showing three women, *Justice, Peace, Union*, she

PLATE VIII



Comment la meue le batte deux fois
de Joye et ruyrit on eue-

JEANNE ATTACKS TWO CAMP FOLLOWERS
From the Mss. Vigilles de Charles VII (1484)

answered that she knew nothing of that. Asked whether she knows that certain of her party had service, Mass, and prayers said for her, she answered that she knows nothing of it and if any service was held, it was not at her instruction, though if they prayed for her, she feels they did not ill. On this Saturday, March 3rd, she was asked what honour the people of Troyes did her when she entered the town, and she answered

They did me none, and added that she thought brother Richard entered Troyes with her, but she does not remember seeing him enter. Asked whether he preached a sermon when she arrived, she answered that when she came she scarcely stopped at Troyes and did not sleep there, and as for the sermon, she knew nothing of it.

LIII

' The said Jeanne, against the bidding of God and His Saints, proudly and presumptuously assumed domination over men she appointed herself leader and captain of an army which rose at times to the number of 16,000 men, in which there were princes, barons, and other nobles, all of whom she made fight under herself as principal captain '

To this fifty-third article, this Wednesday, March 28th, Jeanne answers that in the matter of being leader in war she has already given her reply, and if she was leader, it was to conquer the English. In respect of the end of the article she refers to Our Lord.

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked what forces her king gave her, when he set her to work, she answered that he gave her ten or twelve thousand men, and that she went first to Orleans to the fortress of St. Loup and then to the fortress of the Bridge.

LIV

' The said Jeanne unashamedly walked with men, refusing to have the company or care of womenfolk,

and wished to employ only men whom she made serve in the private offices of her room and in her secret affairs, a thing unseen and unheard of in a modest or devout woman."

To this fifty-fourth article, Jeanne answers that her government was through men, as for where she lodged or slept at night, she usually had a woman with her; when she was fighting, she would lie fully dressed and armed, if there was no woman to be found. In respect of the end of the article, she refers herself to God

LV

"The said Jeanne misused the revelations and prophecies she claims to have from God, turning them into worldly profit and advantage, for, by means of them she acquired a great number of riches, great state and apparel, many officers, horses, ornaments; wherein she imitated the false prophets who for love of worldly goods and to gain the favour of the great of this world, are wont to pretend that they have revelations concerning them, and hope to please the temporal princes: then they abuse the divine oracles and attribute their false lies to God"

To this fifty-fifth article, Jeanne answers that she has already replied to this; and in respect of the gifts made to her brothers, the king gave them from his grace, without her seeking. In respect of the charge the promoter makes and the end of the article she refers herself to God.

On Saturday, March 10th, asked if she ever had any other riches from her king than her horses, she answered that she never asked anything of her king save good arms, good horses, and money to pay the people of her household. Asked whether she had no treasure, she answered that the ten or twelve thousand worth she had was not much to carry on a war with, very little indeed, and that, she thinks, her brothers have. What she has

is her king's own money She said she was captured when she was riding a demi-charger, asked who gave her it, she answered that her king or his people with the king's money gave her it, she had five chargers from the king's money, not counting the hacks, which were more than seven

LVI

The said Jeanne has often boasted of having two counsellors whom she calls her counsellors of the fountain, who came to her after she was captured, as has been proved by the confession of Catherine de La Rochelle before the official at Paris, which Catherine said that Jeanne would escape from her prison with the devil's aid if she were not well guarded.

To this fifty-sixth article, the said Jeanne answers that she abides by her other answers As for the counsellors of the fountain, she does not know what that means, but she believes she once heard St Catherine and St Margaret there In respect of the end of the article, which she denies, she declares on oath that she would not want the devil to drag her out of prison

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked if she saw or knew Catherine de La Rochelle, she answered yes, at Jargeau, and at Montfaucon-en-Berry Asked whether this Catherine did not show her a lady robed in white who, she said, sometimes appeared to her, she answered no Asked on the same day what this Catherine said to her, she answered that Catherine told her she was visited by a white lady robed in cloth of gold who told the said Catherine to go through the good towns and her king would give her heralds and trumpets, and she should cry out that whoever had hidden gold or silver or treasure should forthwith bring it out, and those who did not she would immediately know, and would be able to find their treasure, and it would be to pay Jeanne's soldiers To which Jeanne answered Catherine that she should go home to her husband, do her work, and look after

her children. To make sure, she spoke to St Catherine and St. Margaret who told her that the mission of this Catherine was all madness and nonsense. Jeanne wrote to her king about Catherine, and told him what he should do with her ; and when she came into his presence, she told him it was all madness and nonsense. Nevertheless, brother Richard wanted to put her to work, and he and Catherine were ill-pleased with Jeanne. Asked whether she spoke to Catherine de La Rochelle of going to La Charité, she answered that Catherine did not advise her to go there, for the weather was too cold, and she would not go. This March 3rd Jeanne confessed that she told Catherine, who wished to go to the Duke of Burgundy and make peace, that no peace would be found save at the lance's point. The said Jeanne confessed to having asked Catherine if the white lady came to her every night, and would sleep with her to see her, which she did, watched till midnight and saw nothing, and then fell asleep. In the morning she asked Catherine if the lady had come and Catherine answered that she had, when Jeanne was sleeping, and she had not been able to awaken her. Then Jeanne asked if the lady would come the following night, and Catherine said she would, so Jeanne slept during the day so that she could watch at night, and the next night she lay with Catherine and watched all night long, but saw nothing, although she asked Catherine if the lady would come, and Catherine answered " Yes, soon ".

LVII

" The said Jeanne, on the day of the Festival of the Nativity of Our Lady, called together all the soldiers of Charles's army to march to the attack upon Paris, led them against the city, promised them they should enter that day, for she knew it by revelation, and had every measure taken by which she could attack the city : this nevertheless she was not afraid to deny in judgment before us. Likewise, in many other places, at La

Charité-sur-Loire, at Pont l'Eveque, and at Compiègne, when she attacked my Lord Duke of Burgundy's army, she made many promises and uttered many prophecies which she claimed to know by revelation, which in no way came true, and were altogether contradicted. Now before you she denied having made such promises and prophecies, because they did not turn out as she had said, yet many trustworthy persons have reported that these promises were uttered and published by her. Also, at the attack on Paris, she said that thousands of angels accompanied her, ready to bear her to Paradise should she die. Yet when she was asked why her entry into Paris according to her promise had not taken place, and many of her company, and she too, had instead been hurt with grievous wounds, some even killed, she is said to have answered 'Jesus has failed in His promise.'

To this article on Wednesday, March 28th, Jeanne answers in respect of its beginning that she has already answered it, and 'If I am advised further, I will gladly answer more.' In respect of the end, that Jesus had failed her, she denies it.

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked what she did in the trenches of La Charité, she answered that she had an assault made there, but she did not throw or sprinkle holy water. Asked why she did not enter the town, since she had God's bidding, she answered 'Who told you I was commanded to enter?' Asked if she had not counsel of her voice, she answered that she wished to come to France, but the soldiers told her it was better to go first before La Charité.

On Tuesday, March 13th, asked whether when she went to Paris it was revealed by her voices that she should go there, she answered no, but it was at the request of noblemen who wanted to make a skirmish or assault, and she really intended to go beyond and cross the trenches. Asked whether she had any revelation concerning her going before La Charité, she said no,

but went there at the request of soldiers as she formerly said. The same Tuesday, asked if it was not revealed to her that she should go to Pont l'Évêque, she answered that after it was revealed to her at Melun that she would be captured, she generally deferred to the will of the captains in questions of war, yet she did not tell them that it had been revealed that she should be captured. Asked if it was right to attack Paris on the day of Our Lady's Nativity, she answered that in her opinion and conscience "It is good to keep the Festival of Our Lady" from beginning to end.

LVIII

"The said Jeanne had painted on her standard two angels and God holding the world in His hand, with the words JHESUS MARIA, and other designs, and this she says she did at God's command, who revealed it to her through His angels and saints. This standard she placed in the cathedral of Rheims near the altar when the said Charles was crowned, desiring out of overweening vainglory that others should honour this standard in particular. She also had her coat-of-arms painted with two lilies or in a field azure, and in the midst of the lilies a sword argent, a hilt and guard or, with the point surmounted by a crown or : which appears to partake of ostentation and vanity and not of piety or religion, and to attribute such vanities to God and the angels is against the reverence due to God and His Saints "

To this fifty-eighth article on this March 28th, Jeanne answers "I have answered this," and of the contradiction indicated by the Promoter. "I refer me to Our Lord "

On Tuesday, February 27th, asked whether when she went to Orleans she had a standard, and what colour it was, she answered yes, and its field was sown with lilies, and the world was pictured on it, and two angels at the sides. It was white, of white linen or *boucassin*. The names JHESUS MARIA were written on it, and it was

fringed with silk. Asked whether these names were written above or at the side or beneath, she said they were at the side. Asked if she liked her sword better than her standard, she answered that she liked her standard forty times better. Asked who made her paint it in this fashion, she answered "I have told you often enough that I have done nothing except at God's command." She said she herself bore the standard when going among her enemies, to avoid killing anyone, she said she had never killed a man.

On Saturday, March 3rd, she said her standard was in the church of Rheims, she thought, fairly near the altar, she bore it for a short time, but did not know whether brother Richard did.

On Saturday, March 10th, asked whether the world with two angels was painted on her standard, she answered yes, she had but one. Asked what this signified to take God holding the world, and two angels, she answered that St. Catherine and St. Margaret had told her to take this standard and bear it boldly, and to paint thereon the King of Heaven. She told her king this, much against her will, in French, *très en vis*, that was all she knew of its significance. Asked whether she had not a shield and arms, she answered that she never had, but the king granted arms to her brothers, namely a shield azure, with two fleurs-de-lis or and a sword between which she described to a painter in this town of Rheims because he asked what arms she bore. She said the king gave them to her brothers to their joy without her request and without revelation.

On Saturday, March 17th, asked what decided her to have painted on her standard angels with arms, feet, legs, and robes, she answered "You have my reply to that." Asked if she had the angels painted as they came to her, she answered that they were painted in the fashion that they are represented in churches. Asked if she ever saw them in the manner in which they were painted, she answered "I will not tell you more."

Asked why the light which came with the angels and her voices was not painted, she answered that she was not commanded to paint it. The same day she was asked if the two angels painted on her standard were St. Michael and St. Gabriel, she answered that the representations of two angels was solely for the honour of Our Lord, who was painted holding the world. Asked if the two angels on her standard were the two angels who guard the world, and why there were not more, seeing that she was bidden in Our Lord's name to take the standard, she answered that the whole standard was commanded for Our Lord, by the voices of St. Catherine and St. Margaret who said to her : " Take the standard in the name of the King of Heaven." And because the saints told her " Take the standard in the name of the King of Heaven ", she had this figure of Our Lord and the angels painted in colour on it. All this, and the colour, she did at God's command. Asked if she questioned her saints whether in virtue of this standard she would win all battles in which she fought, she answered that the saints told her to bear it boldly and God would aid her. Asked which was of more help, she to the standard or the standard to her, she answered that whether the victory was hers or the standard's, it all must be attributed to God. Asked whether the hope of victory was founded in the standard or in herself, she answered that it was founded in Our Lord, and nothing else. Asked whether if anyone else had carried the standard he would have been as fortunate as she had been, she answered : " I do not know, and I leave it to God " Asked whether if one of her party had sent her his standard to carry, and particularly if she had been given the king's standard, and had borne it, she would have had as firm a hope in that as in her own, which she received in God's name, she answered : " I more gladly bore that which was bidden me in God's name ; yet in all things I committed myself to God " The same day, asked if she did not make her standard wave above the king's head when it

was unfurled, she answered that she did not know it had been done. Asked why her standard was borne into the church at Rheims rather than those of other captains at the Consecration of her king, she answered 'It had been present in the perils, and that was reason enough for it to be honoured.'

LIX

"At Saint-Denis in France the said Jeanne offered and deposited in the church in a high place the armour in which she had been wounded in the assault on Paris, so that it might be honoured by the people as relics. And, in the same town, she had waxen candles lit, from which she poured melted wax on the heads of little children, foretelling their fortune, and making by these enchantments many divinations about them.

To this fifty-ninth article, on Wednesday, March 28th, Jeanne replies "I have answered this, in respect of the arms, and in respect of the lighted candles which were melted, she denies it.

On Saturday, March 17th, asked what arms she offered to Saint-Denis, she answered that it was a whole black suit of armour for a man-at-arms, with a sword, which she had worn at Paris. Asked to what end she made an offering of these arms, she answered that it was an act of devotion, such as soldiers perform when they are wounded. And since she had been wounded before Paris, she offered them to Saint-Denis, because it was the war-cry of France. Asked if she did it so that the arms might be worshipped, she said no.

LX

The said Jeanne, scornful of the precepts and sanctions of the Church, many times refused to take oath to speak the truth, so exposing herself to the suspicion of having said or done certain things in questions of faith or revelation which she dare not reveal to the

ecclesiastical judges, being fearful of a just punishment : this it appears she sufficiently acknowledged by the proverb, 'Men are sometimes hanged for telling the truth', and often she said, 'You will not know everything', and 'I would rather have my head cut off than tell you everything'."

To this sixtieth article, Jeanne answers that she only asked for delay so that she could more certainly answer the questions ; and as for the end of the article, she was afraid to answer, and she asked for delay to discover if she should speak. She said that since her king's counsel did not concern the case she did not wish to reveal it ; she told the sign given to her king because the clergy condemned her to tell it.

On Thursday, February 22nd, asked whether there was no light when the voice showed her the king, she answered . "Continue" Asked whether she did not see an angel over the king's head, she replied : "Spare me and continue." She said that before the king set her to work he had many apparitions and beautiful revelations ; asked what kind these were, she answered : "I will not tell you this , you will get no further answer. But send to the king, and he will tell you."

On Saturday, February 24th, we explained to Jeanne that she must swear to speak the simple and absolute truth with no reservation to her oath, and she was thrice admonished to do this She said . "Give me leave to speak," and added : "By my faith, you could ask such things as I would not answer" She said also : "Perhaps I shall not answer you truly in many things you ask me concerning the revelations ; for perhaps you would constrain me to tell things I have sworn not to utter, and so I should be perjured, and you would not wish that." Also . "I tell you, take good heed of what you say, that you are my judge, for you assume a great responsibility, and overburden me." Asked if she would swear simply and absolutely, she answered : "You should be content. I have sworn enough, twice,"

adding that all the clergy of Rouen and Paris could not condemn her, but by law. She could not tell everything in a week of her coming, she would gladly speak the truth, but not the whole truth. She was told to take the advice of the assessors whether or not she should swear, but she answered that of her coming she would willingly speak the truth, and not otherwise, and we must not speak of it to her any more. She was again warned that she lay herself open to suspicion, she answered as before. Then the Bishop of Beauvais summoned her to swear precisely, she answered "I will willingly tell what I know, but not all." She was required to swear, and admonished under penalty of being charged with what was imputed to her, and she answered "I have sworn enough, and Continue." Then, required and admonished to speak the truth in matters concerning the trial, and being told that she exposed herself to great danger, she answered "I am ready to swear to speak the truth of what I know concerning the trial, but not all I know," and in this manner took the oath.

The same day, February 24th, asked if the voice forbade her to tell everything, she answered "I will not answer you that. I have revelations concerning the king which I shall not tell you." Asked if the voice forbade her to tell of the revelations, she replied "I have not been advised on that," and asked for a fortnight in which to answer. She said she asked for a delay in which to answer that "If the voice forbade me, what would you say?" Again asked if the voices forbade her, she answered "Believe me, it was not men who forbade me." She said she would not answer that day, and she does not know if she should answer all that was revealed to her. Asked whether she thought it displeasing to God for her to tell the truth, she answered that her voices said she was to tell certain things to the king and not to us. Asked if the counsel revealed to her that she should escape from prison, she answered

“Must I tell you that?” Asked whether that night the voice had not advised her what she should reply, she said that if the voice revealed it she did not well understand. Asked whether a light was visible on the last two days that she heard the voices, she answered that the light comes in the name of the voice. Asked whether she saw anything with this voice, she answered: “I will not tell you everything and I have not permission for that,” for her oath did not touch on that. She said the voice is beautiful, good, and worthy, and she is not bound to answer what she is asked. Asked whether the voice had sight or eyes (this was asked because she desired to have in writing the points on which she did not reply), she answered “You will not learn that yet”, in French “*Vous ne l'avez pas encore*”. She said that little children have a proverb, “Men are sometimes hanged for telling the truth.”

On the Tuesday, February 27th, when we required the said Jeanne to take an oath and swear to speak the truth on questions concerning the trial, she answered that she would willingly swear in respect of the questions concerning her case, but not of all she knew. Then we required her to answer truthfully everything she should be asked. She replied as before, saying, “You ought to be satisfied. I have sworn enough.” She said she would willingly speak the truth concerning subjects for which she had leave from Our Lord, but without the permission of her voice she will not tell the revelations concerning her king. The same day, asked whether St. Catherine and St. Margaret were dressed in the same cloth, she said: “I will not tell you any more now,” for she had not permission to reveal it, and “if you don't believe me, go to Poitiers”. She said certain revelations came to her king and not to those who questioned her. Asked if the saints who appeared to her were of the same age, she said she had not leave to tell. Asked whether they spoke at the same time, or one after another, she said she may not tell, but every

day she had counsel of both. Asked which first appeared to her, she answered 'I did not recognize them immediately', once she knew well enough, but has now forgotten. If she is permitted she will willingly tell. It is written down at Poitiers. Asked in what form St Michael appeared to her she said "There is as yet no reply to that, for I have not leave to answer". Asked what St Michael said to her the first time, she answered 'You will get no further reply to-day'. She says the voices told her to answer boldly, and added that she has not yet leave to reveal what St Michael told her, and wishes her examiner had a copy of the book at Poitiers, if it were God's will. Asked if St Michael and the other saints told her she must not reveal them without their leave, she said 'I still may not answer', and, 'What I have permission to, I will gladly answer', and if the voices forbade her, she did not understand them. Asked what sign she gives that this revelation comes from God, and that it is St Catherine and St Margaret who speak to her, she answered 'I have told you often enough that it is St Catherine and St Margaret', and 'Believe me if you will'. Asked what revelations the king had, she answered 'You will not learn from me this year'.

On Thursday, March 1st, asked what the saints promised her, she answered 'That is not in your case at all'. Asked if they promised her anything beyond that they would lead her to Paradise, she answered that there were other promises, but she will not tell them, they do not concern the trial. Within three months she will tell the other promises. Asked if the saints said that within three months she should be delivered out of prison, she answered "That is not in your case". Nevertheless she does not know when she will be delivered. She says that they who want to get her out of this world may well go before her. Asked whether her counsel had not told her she would be delivered from gaol, she answered 'Speak to me of it in three months'.

time ; I will answer you.” She added that we should ask the assessors on their oath whether it concerned the trial, and after they had deliberated and unanimously decided that it did, she said : “ One day I must be delivered, and I want permission to tell you,” and so asked for delay. Asked whether the saints forbade her to speak the truth, she answered : “ Do you want me to tell you what is the concern of the king of France ? ” She said many things do not concern her case. The same day, asked what sign she gave the king that she came from God, she said : “ I have always told you you will not drag this from my lips. Go and ask him.” Asked if she had sworn not to reveal what she was asked concerning the trial, she answered . “ I have already told you that I will not tell you what concerns our king.” Asked if she did not know the sign, she answered : “ You will not learn it from me ” She was told that it concerned the trial, and answered : “ What I have promised to keep secret I shall not tell you,” and added : “ I have already declared that I could not tell you without perjury ” Asked to whom she made the promise, she answered that she promised St. Catherine and St. Margaret, and this was shown to her king. She said she promised without their asking, of her own accord, and said that too many people would have asked her about her sign, had she not made this promise to her saints. Asked whether anyone else was present when she showed the sign to the king, she said : “ I think there was no one but him, although many people were quite near ” Asked if she saw the crown on her king’s head, when she showed him the sign, she answered : “ I cannot tell you without perjury.”

On Saturday, March 3rd, asked whether she believes God created St Michael and St. Gabriel from the beginning in the form and fashion in which she saw them, she answered . “ You will learn no more at present from me than I have told you ” Asked whether she had seen or known by revelation that she would escape, she

answered "That does not concern your case. Do you want me to speak against myself?" Asked if the voices told her anything of it, she said "That is not in your case. I leave it to Our Lord, and if everything concerned you, I would tell you everything." She added

"By my faith, I do not know the hour." Asked whether when God told her to change her dress it was through the voice of St Michael or St Catherine or of St Margaret, she answered "You will not learn any more."

On Monday, March 12th, asked whether she had received letters from St Michael or her voices, she answered "I have not leave to tell you, but within a week I will gladly tell you what I know."

LXI

The said Jeanne, admonished to submit all her acts and sayings to the decision of the Church Militant, and advised of the distinction between the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, professed to submit to the Church Triumphant and refused to submit herself to the Church Militant, so declaring her erroneous opinion in respect of the article *Unam Sanctam*, etc., and in all this showing herself at fault. She said it was for God, without an intermediary, to judge her, and she committed herself, her acts and her sayings to Him and His saints, and not to the judgment of the Church.

To this sixty-first article, Jeanne answers that she would desire to bring to the Church Militant all the honour and reverence in her power, but in respect of submitting her actions to the Church Militant, she says "I must submit them to the Lord God who commands me."

Asked whether she submits her actions to the Church Militant, she answers "Send me the clerk next Saturday and I will tell you."

On Thursday, March 15th, she was told of the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant, and was required to submit her sayings and her actions both good and bad to the decision of the Church, and she answered "I

will not give you any further answer for the present.” And after warnings and summons had been given her, that if she had done anything contrary to our faith she ought to refer it to the decision of the Church, she answered that her replies should be seen and examined by the clergy, and then she should be told if there were anything contrary to the Christian faith: she would certainly be able to tell what it was, and then she would say what she learned from her counsel. “Nevertheless if there were anything contrary to the Christian faith which Our Lord ordained she would not wish to sustain it, and would be grieved to be in opposition. The same day, asked whether she would submit her acts and sayings to the decision of the Church, she answered : “Everything I have said or done is in God’s hands, and I commit myself to Him. I certify to you that I would do or say nothing contrary to the Christian faith, and if I had said or done anything, or if anything were found on me, which the clerks should declare to be against the Christian faith established by Our Lord, I would not uphold it, but would cast it out” Then asked whether she would not submit herself therein to the decision of the Church, she answered : “I will not now answer you more, but on Saturday next, send me the clerk, if you do not wish to come, and I will answer him this with God’s aid, and it shall be set down in writing.”

On Saturday, March 17th, asked if she thought she was bounden to answer the whole truth to Our Holy Father the Pope, God’s Vicar, on everything we asked her concerning the faith and the state of her conscience, she answered that she required to be taken to him and then she would answer.

On Saturday, the last day of March, asked whether she would submit to the decision of the Church on earth everything she had done, either good or evil, especially the questions, crimes, and misdemeanours imputed to her, and all that concerns her case, she answered that in respect of what she was asked she would submit to the

Church Militant provided we did not ask her to do what was impossible, meaning by impossible the revocation of her acts and sayings, put forth in the proceedings, which concern the visions and revelations she claims to have from God, she would not revoke them for anything in the world. What Our Lord has bidden her she will not for any man alive cease to do that, she could not revoke. In the event of the Church wishing her to do otherwise against the bidding of Our Lord she would not obey for anything. Asked whether she would submit to the Church if the Church Militant said that her revelations were false and devilish things, superstitious and evil, she answered that she would submit to Our Lord, whose bidding she will ever perform, for she knows that the happenings described in the proceedings were done at His bidding, it would be impossible for her to do other than what she declares she has done at God's bidding. If the Church Militant told her to do otherwise, she would submit to none other than Our Lord, whose good bidding she always performed. Asked if she believes she is subject to the Church on earth, namely Our Holy Father the Pope, to the cardinals, archbishops, bishops and other prelates of the Church, she answered yes, Our Lord being first served. Asked whether her voices bade her not to submit to the Church Militant on earth, or its judgment, she said that she does not answer anything which comes to her mind, but answers according to the voices instruction, and they do not forbid her to obey the Church, Our Lord being first served.

On Wednesday, April 18th, the said Jeanne was told that because of her sickness the more fearful she was of her life the more necessary it was for her to reform, and that she would not receive the rights of the Church as a Catholic if she did not submit to the Church. She answered. If my body dies in prison, I expect you to bury it in holy ground, and if you do not, I put my trust in Our Lord. The same day, asked since she

desired the Church to grant her the sacrament of the Eucharist, whether she would submit to the Church if she were promised the Eucharist, she answered that she would not answer, in respect of this submission, other than she had done ; but she loves and serves God, as a good Christian, and would aid and sustain the Church with all her might.

LXII

“ The said Jeanne endeavours to scandalize the people, to induce them to believe all her words and prophecies, assuming the authority of God and His angels, lifting herself above all ecclesiastical power to lead men unto error, as false prophets are wont when they introduce sects of error and perdition and separate from the unity of the body of the Church : which is pernicious to the Christian religion ; and unless the prelates of the Church take action, a subversion of the future ecclesiastical authority may ensue , men and women pretending to have revelations from God and His angels will flock in from all sides and sow lies and errors, as has often occurred since this woman arose and began to scandalize the Christian people and propagate her inventions.”

To this sixty-second article on this Wednesday, March 28th, Jeanne answers that she will answer on Saturday.

LXIII

“ The said Jeanne has not been afraid to lie before the law, in violation of her oath, and affirmed successively many conflicting and contradictory things about her revelations , she has uttered curses against nobles and notable people, against a whole nation , she has without shame uttered falsehoods and contemptuous words in no way becoming to a holy woman, showing adequately that she has been directed and governed in her actions by evil spirits, and not by the counsel of God and His angels, as she boasts. Now Christ said of false prophets, ‘ By their fruits ye shall know them.’ ”

To this sixty-third article, Jeanne this day answers 'I refer to what I have said,' and in respect of the accusation and conclusion of the article refers herself to Our Lord

On Tuesday, February 27th, she said that she had a sword at Lagny, and from Lagny to Compiègne she bore the sword of a Burgundian which was a good fighting weapon, excellent for giving hard clouts and buffets, and that where she lost the sword is not in the case, so she will not answer

On Thursday, March 1st, she said she would have died but for the daily revelation and comfort Asked whether St Michael had any hair, she answered 'Why should it be shorn off?' She had not seen St Michael since she left the castle of Crotoy and did not often see him

LXIV

The said Jeanne boasts of knowing that she has obtained remission of the sins she committed when from a despairing heart and at the incitement of an evil spirit she cast herself from the top of the tower of the castle of Beaurevoir, although the Scripture teaches that none knows if he is worthy of love or of hatred, and therefore if he is purged or freed from sin "

To this sixty-fourth article on Wednesday, March 28th, Jeanne answers 'I have answered you this, and I refer you to my answer,' and in respect of the conclusion, refers herself to Our Lord

LXV

The said Jeanne many times declared that she asked God to send her special revelation, through St Catherine and St Margaret, for her conduct, for instance whether she should answer truthfully in this trial certain questions and matters personal to her That is to tempt the Lord God, to ask needlessly of Him forbidden things, without having performed all inquiries and investigations possible

to man. Especially in respect of her leap from the tower, it is manifest that she tempted God."

To this sixty-fifth article on this Wedne day, Jeanne says that she has answered it ; she will not utter what has been revealed to her without permission from God ; and that she did not ask needlessly ; and she wishes He would send other revelations still so that it could be better seen that she comes in His name and that He has sent her.

LXVI

"Certain of her prophecies depart from divine, evangelic, canon, and civil law, contrary to the decisions approved by the Councils General ; they contain spells, enchantments, superstitions ; some formally, other casually, and otherwise, pertaining to heresy ; many errors against the faith encourage and incite to heretical error. Some are seditious, harmful, and contrary to peace ; some encourage the spilling of human blood ; some too are nothing but curses and blasphemies against God and His saints , others still offend the ears of pious men. In all this the accused with daring rashness and at the instigation of the Devil offended God and His Holy Church, against which she has scandalously committed excesses and crimes, is notoriously defamed thereof and has appeared before you to be corrected and reformed."

To this sixty-sixth article, the said Jeanne answers that she is a good Christian and in respect of all the accusations contained in this article commits herself to God

LXVII

"Each and every one of these things the accused has committed, perpetrated, uttered, produced, declared, published and accomplished both in this and other jurisdictions, in many and divers places of the realm, not once, but repeatedly, on many times, days, and

hours , she has persisted in them and given her aid, counsel and favour to those who committed them ”

This sixty-seventh article the said Jeanne denies

LXVIII

Therefore from the time that you discovered, by the insinuating noise which struck your ears not once but many times, and by public report and evidence collected herein, that the accused was vehemently suspected and defamed, you decreed that it was meet to hold an inquiry against her, and that you or one of you must take proceedings against her and call her to answer these questions, as it has been done ”

To this sixty-eighth article, Jeanne answers “ This article concerns the judges

LXIX

The said accused in everything which precedes was and is vehemently suspected, scandalous, and to the highest degree, notoriously defamed in the eyes of honest and sober men Yet she in no way corrected her ways or reformed , on the contrary, she put off and declined to correct and amend herself , and continued and persisted in her errors, and still does, although both you and other notable clergy and other honest folk have, charitably and otherwise, duly and sufficiently summoned and required her so to do ’

To this sixty-ninth article, Jeanne says that she has not committed the errors imputed to her by the promoter , for the rest, she commits herself to God, and in respect of the crimes of which she is accused she does not think she has done anything contrary to the Christian faith

Asked whether if she had done anything contrary to the Christian faith she would be willing to submit to the Church and to those whose part it is to administer correction, she answered that she would reply after dinner on Saturday

LXX

“That each and every one of these propositions is true, known, and manifest, and that the public voice and report has worked on them ; and the accused has acknowledged and confessed them as true on many and sufficient occasions, before men trustworthy and upright, both in and out of court.”

This seventieth article Jeanne denies, except that which she has confessed.

“*On these points*, and on others you will complete, correct and further inquire into, the said promoter requests and demands that the accused be examined before you : and concludes against her that inasmuch as he has sufficiently proved to the proposed end the foregoing wholly or in part, you should decide on and pronounce sentence on each and everyone of the foregoing ends, and make further utterance and judgment according to law and reason ; and therein he duly and humbly implores your offices.”

Saturday, the last day of March, in Prison

The following Saturday, Easter Eve, the last day of March, in the year of Our Lord 1431, in our presence in Jeanne's prison in the castle of Rouen, and with Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Gérard Feuillet, doctors, William Haiton and Thomas de Courcelles, bachelors of sacred theology, and Guillaume Mouton and John Grey

The said Jeanne was examined on certain points in the answering of which she had required a delay until this day, although she had replied to the preceding articles.

And first she was asked whether she would submit to the judgment of the Church which is on earth in her every act and saying, whether good or evil, and especially in the causes, crimes and errors of which she was accused, and in everything concerning her trial : she answered

that in all these she would submit to the Church Militant provided that it did not command her to do the impossible. And by this it is understood she means the revocation of the things she has said and done (as the trial reports) in respect of the visions and revelations she claims to have from God. She will not deny them for anything in the world. What Our Lord told her and shall tell her to do she will not cease from doing for any man alive. It would be impossible for her to deny them, and in the event of the Church commanding her to do anything contrary to God's bidding, she would by no means undertake it.

Asked whether she would submit to the Church if the Church Militant said that her revelations were illusions, diabolical, superstitious and evil things, she said she would submit to Our Lord whose will she would always do. She knows that what is written in the proceedings came at His bidding, and what she therein claimed to have done at God's command she could in no way have done otherwise. If the Church Militant commanded her to do otherwise she would not submit to it for any man in the world, except Our Lord, whose good will she would always do.

Asked if she did not think herself subject to the Church on earth, namely to Our Holy Father the Pope, the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the Church, she answered yes, Our Lord being first served.

Asked whether her voices had bidden her not to submit to the Church Militant on earth, or its judgments, she answered that she did not reply whatever happened to come into her head, but answered at Our Lord's command. Her voices did not tell her not to obey the Church, Our Lord being first served.

Asked whether files had been found upon her in the castle at Beaurevoir or Arris or elsewhere, she answers

If any were found on me, I have nothing more to answer.

At this point we retired and stayed these proceedings upon matters of faith.

Monday, April 2nd, 3rd and 4th. A digest of the propositions is prepared

On the following Monday after Easter, April 2nd, 1431, and on the Tuesday and Wednesday following, we the aforesaid judges, with several other lords and lawyers assembled thereto, perused the above articles and the examinations and replies of the said Jeanne, and caused to be drawn up from them all certain statements and propositions, in the form of twelve articles resuming summarily and comprehensively many of her sayings. These we decided to despatch to doctors and other men learned in canon and civil law, requesting their advice and consultation for the good of the faith.

Thursday, April 5th. The digest is submitted to the assessors

The following Thursday, April 5th, we conveyed our schedule of requisition, with the said statements, in the following form to each of the doctors who to our knowledge were in this town.

“We, Pierre by divine mercy Bishop of Beauvais and brother Jean Le Maître Vice-Inquisitor, etc., demand and beseech you for the faith’s sake to deliver to us in writing under your seal a salutary counsel upon the following assertions, namely whether, being respectively seen, weighed, and discussed, they or some of them are contrary to the orthodox faith or suspect with regard to Holy Writ, opposed to the decrees of the Holy Roman Church and the canonical sanctions, scandalous, rash, noxious to the public weal, injurious, enveloped in crimes, contrary to good customs and in every respect offensive ; or whatever shall be said of the statements in the judgment of the faith. Written this Thursday after Easter, April 5th, 1431.

Here follows the tenor of the said assertions

I

And firstly this woman says and affirms that in the thirteenth year of her age, or thereabouts, she saw with her bodily eyes St Michael, who would console her, and at times St Gabriel, and they appeared to her in bodily form. Sometimes also she saw a great host of angels, and since then, St Catherine and St Margaret have appeared to the said woman who saw them in the flesh. And every day she sees them and hears their speech, and, when she embraces and kisses them, she touches them and feels them physically. She has seen, not only the heads of the said angels and the saints, but other parts of their bodies, whercof she has not chosen to speak. And the said St Catherine and St Margaret spoke to her at times by a certain fountain, near a great tree, commonly called 'The Fairies Tree', in the matter of the fountain and of the tree, the common report is that it is the frequent resort of witches, that many sick of the fever go to this fountain and tree to recover their health, although these are situated in an unhallowed spot. There, and elsewhere, on several occasions, she has adored them and done them reverence.

In addition she has said that St Catherine and St Margaret appeared and showed themselves to her, crowned with rich and beautiful crowns. And from that moment, taking up the matter afresh on divers occasions, they said to this woman that God had commanded her to go to a certain prince of this world, promising that, by the aid and effort of the said woman, this prince would recover by force of arms great worldly dominions and glory, and that he would overcome his enemies, and also that this prince would welcome her, and lend her soldiers and weapons to fulfil her promises. Moreover, the said St Catherine and St Margaret instructed this woman, in the name of God, to take and wear a man's clothes and she has worn them, and

still wears them, stubbornly obeying the said command, to such an extent that this woman has declared that she would rather die than relinquish these clothes. She has made this declaration simply and purely, adding at times 'except at Our Lord's command'. She has preferred to be absent from the office of the Mass, to be deprived of the Holy Sacrament of Communion, at the times when the Church commands the faithful to receive the said Sacrament, rather than wear woman's clothes once more and relinquish male costume. These saints would seem to have shown similar favour to this woman when, unknown to and against the will of her parents, in the seventeenth year of her age or thereabouts, she left her father's house, joined with a company of men following the profession of arms, living with them day and night, and never, or rarely, having another woman with her. And these saints have told and commanded her many other things: this is why this woman has claimed to be sent by the God of Heaven and by the Church Triumphant of the saints already in bliss, to whom she submits any good that she has wrought. But she has postponed and declined to submit her acts and words to the Church Militant; and, having been interrogated and admonished on this point more than once, she has answered that she could not do otherwise than what she has claimed, in her statement, to have done, in answer to the commands of God; for in these things she did not refer herself to the consideration and decision of living man, but to the Judgment of Our Lord alone; that these saints had revealed to her that she would enter into the salvation and glory of the Blessed: that her soul would be saved if she preserved the virginity she had consecrated to them when she first saw and heard them. And at the time of this revelation she has asserted that she was as sure of her salvation as if she had suddenly found herself in reality in the Kingdom of Paradise."



Devant le roy on la mena .

JEANNE IS LED TO HER KING

From the *Miss Vieilles de Charles VII* (1481)

II

" This woman has said that the sign which the prince, towards whom she had been sent, received, which led him to trust her revelations, to receive her, and to let her direct the war, was that St Michael approached the said prince, in company with a multitude of angels of whom some wore crowns and others were winged, and with them were St Catherine and St Margaret. And the angel and this woman walked together by land and by highway, mounting steps, crossing the hall, travelling far, other angels and the said saints were with them. And one angel gave to the said prince a precious crown of fine gold, and bowed down before the prince, making obeisance to him. And on one occasion she has stated that when her prince received this sign, he seemed to be alone although there were several men quite near him and on another occasion it would seem to her, an archbishop received this sign with the crown and gave it to the prince, in the presence and view of several lords temporal.

III

" This woman recognizes and is certain that he who visits her is St Michael. she is certain of this because of the good counsel, consolation, and wise doctrine which the said St Michael brings her, and also because he names himself, saying that he is Michael. And similarly she recognizes and distinguishes from one another, St Catherine and St Margaret, because they name themselves and greet her. This is why she believes that the St Michael who visits her is St Michael himself, and that his acts and words are good and true, as firmly as she believes that Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death to redeem us.

IV

' The said woman says and affirms that she is as certain of future and purely contingent events, and that

they will be realized, as she is of what she sees in reality before her ; she boasts that she has and has had knowledge of secret things through the verbal revelations of St. Catherine and St. Margaret : as for example that she will be delivered from prison, that the French will have more glorious success in her presence than all Christendom had hitherto. In addition she has, according to her own account, recognized, by revelation, people she had never seen before, and whom none had shown to her ; she has revealed and given forth that a certain sword was hidden in the ground ”

V

“ This woman says and affirms that, by the will and command of God, she has taken to herself and has worn, and still dons and wears, clothes like those of a man. Moreover, she has said that, since she had God’s command to wear man’s clothes, she must take hood and doublet, breeches and hose with many points, her hair cut round above her ears, and nothing about her to display and announce her sex, save Nature’s own distinctive marks. And in this garb she has received the Sacrament of the Eucharist on several occasions. And she has declined and still declines to wear woman’s clothes once more, although many times she has been gently requested and reproved . for she says that she would rather die than relinquish a man’s clothes , she has said this purely and simply, at times adding ‘ unless it be at Our Lord’s command ’. She has said that if she found herself in this garb among those of her company, for whom she took up arms erewhile, and if she could do as she did before her capture and captivity, it would be one of the greatest blessings that could come to the whole realm of France : she added that not for anything in the world would she swear to give up man’s clothes and to bear weapons no more. In all this she has declared that her acts were good, and are good, and that she has obeyed God and His commands.”

VI

This woman confesses and affirms that she has caused certain letters to be written and that on some of them were affixed the names JHESUS MARIA, with the invocation of the sign of the Cross, and sometimes she affixed a cross to show she did not wish what she set forth in her letters to be done. Moreover, in others she has caused to be written that she would have those who disobeyed her letters and warnings killed, and that by blows would the favour of the God of Heaven be seen. And frequently she has said that she has performed nothing except by the revelation and command of God.

VII

' This woman says and confesses that in or about her seventeenth year, according to her own account, she went and found, intuitively and by revelation, a certain squire on whom she had never set eyes before, leaving her paternal house against her parents' wishes. The latter, when they knew of her departure, were almost stricken out of their senses. And this woman requested the said squire to lead her or have her led to the prince before mentioned. Then the said squire, a captain, lent this woman a man's clothes and a sword at her own request, and he told and instructed a knight, a squire, and four troopers to escort her. And when they had come to the aforesaid prince, this woman declared to him that she wished to direct the war against his enemies, promising him great dominion, that he would annihilate his foes, and saying that she had been sent for this purpose by the King of Heaven. In this matter she states that she has done well, according to revelation and the command of God.

VIII

' This woman says and confesses that, without constraint or compulsion, she threw herself down from a

lofty tower, preferring death to captivity in the hands of her enemies or life after the destruction of the town of Compiègne. Moreover, she has said that she could not help throwing herself down in this fashion, although St. Catherine and St. Margaret had forbidden her to do so, and she says that to offend them was a grave sin. Yet she claims to know that this sin was pardoned after she confessed it. And she says that she has had revelation of this."

IX

"This woman says and affirms that St. Catherine and St. Margaret promised to lead her into paradise, if she preserved the virginity of body and soul which she consecrated to them. And she says that she is as certain of this as if she was already among the Blessed in glory. She thinks she has in no wise wrought mortal sin ; for, if she were in mortal sin, it seems to her that the said St. Catherine and St. Margaret would not visit her every day as they do."

X

"This woman says and affirms that God loves certain persons whom she points out and names, who are still alive, and that He loves them more than He loves her. And she is aware of this by the revelations of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, who often speak to her in the French tongue, and not in English, for they are not on their side. And since she has known by revelation that they were on the side of the aforementioned prince, she has disliked the Burgundians."

XI

The said woman says and confesses that she has on several occasions made reverence to the aforesaid voices and spirits whom she calls St. Michael, St. Gabriel, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, has uncovered, knelt, and kissed the ground where they walked, and has conse-

crated her virginity to St Catherine and St Margaret, when she embraced and saluted them. And she has touched them bodily and felt them, asking their advice and consolation, has called upon them, although they have often visited her without invocation. She has acquiesced in and obeyed their advice and commands, and has done so from the beginning, without asking counsel of any, as for example her father or mother, or from a priest or prelate, or any other cleric. And nevertheless she firmly believes that the voices and revelations she has had, through saints male and female, come from God and are ordained by Him. And she believes it as solemnly as she believes the Christian faith, or the fact that Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death for our sakes. She has added that if an evil spirit were to appear to her, pretending to be St Michael, she would be able to tell whether he were St Michael or not. This woman has also said that, of her own free will, without being in any way requested or constrained, she swore to St Catherine and St Margaret, who appeared to her, that she would not disclose the sign of the crown which she was to give to the prince to whom she was sent. And, finally, she said 'unless she was given leave to reveal it'."

XII

' This woman says and confesses that if the Church were to desire her to do anything contrary to the command she claims to have from God, she would not do it, for any reason whatever. She affirms that she is quite certain that the things declared in her deposition were done in God's Name, and that it would be impossible for her to do otherwise. She does not submit herself to the judgment of the Church Militant, or to that of living man, but to God alone, Our Lord, whose commands she will always obey and she does this principally in all matters relating to these revelations, and what she claims to have performed owing to them

She says she did not make this reply, and others, by the power of her own mind alone : but she made and gave them as instructed by voice and revelation, although the judges and others present often reminded her of that article of faith : *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam*, explaining to her that every faithful pilgrim of this life must obey it, must submit his words and acts to the Church Militant, principally in matters of belief, in all that concerns holy doctrine and ecclesiastical sanctions."

The tenor of the deliberations

Here follow the deliberations relating to the said assertions, which we received on divers following days

And first sixteen doctors and six licentiates or bachelors in theology gave their opinions on the digest as follows :

"In the name of the Lord, Amen. By this present public act, be it evident and known to all that, in the year of Our Lord 1431, convocation 9, Thursday the 12th of April, the fourteenth year of the pontificate of our most Holy Father in Christ and Lord, Martin, by the divine providence fifth of that name, and in the presence of us, the undersigned public notaries and witnesses, the following reverend fathers and lords, venerable and discreet persons, lords and masters, were personally in session : Erard Emengart, president, Jean Beaupère, Guillaume Le Boucher, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Miget, prior of Longueville, Maurice de Quesnay, Jean de Nibat, Pierre Houdenc, Jean Le Fèvre, Pierre Maurice, the lord abbot of Mortemer, Gerard Feuillet, Richard Prati, and Jean Charpentier, professor of divinity ; William Haiton, bachelor in theology, Raoul Le Sauvage, licentiate in theology, and also Nicolas Coupequesne, Ysambard de La Pierre, and Thomas de Courcelles, likewise bachelors in theology ; and Nicolas Loiseleur, master of arts

"They informed us that the reverend father in Christ, the lord bishop of Beauvais, and brother John

Le Maître, vicar of the worthy doctor, master Jean Graverent, Inquisitor of Heretical Error for the kingdom of France, judges in a certain case of doctrine brought before them, had assembled the said doctors and masters, all and severally, by means of a certain summons of which the tenor commenced thus 'We, Pierre, etc, the following articles, etc A certain woman etc' When the said doctors and masters had received, in the necessary manner, the said summons and its contents, they examined it diligently, with serious and mature consideration, on many occasions And whereas, they stated, every doctor in divinity is legally required to give worthy counsel in matters of doctrine, whenever he is so requested for the good of the faith by the prelates of the Church and the inquisitors of heresy and wishing, therefore, as their duty and their vocation bade them, to the extent of their power and duty towards God, to obey the lord judges and their request they have declared firstly, having been desired urgently and often, verbally and in writing, by the aforesaid judges, to fulfil that request, as has been reported, for the good of the faith, that they understand they are to give their opinions in this matter as shall seem to them to conform with Holy Scripture, with the doctrines of the saints, and with the sanctions of the Church, having before their eyes nothing but the will of God and the truth of the faith They have declared secondly that all their words and deliberations, in this matter and others, they submit to the scrutiny, correction, and judgment of the most Holy Roman Church and to all those to whom scrutiny, correction, and judgment belong, or to whom it will and should belong with all the accustomed reservations in similar matters, and in the best form and manner which is wont to be employed in such declarations With the said reservations, the doctors and masters gave judgment in the following form

'We declare, having conscientiously considered,

discussed and weighed the quality of the person in question, her words and her acts, the manner of her apparitions and revelations, the purpose, cause, circumstances, and all that is contained in the said articles and proceedings, that there is reason to think that the said apparitions and revelations, which she boasts and affirms she has had from God through His angels and His saints, do not come from God through His angels and His saints ; but are rather the fictions of the human imagination or proceed from the spirit of evil. She has not had sufficient evidence to believe and recognize them ; in the aforesaid articles they are fabricated lies, certain improbabilities, and beliefs lightly accepted on her part : superstitions and divinations : scandalous and irreligious acts ; temeritous, presumptuous, and boasting speech . blasphemies of God and His saints (St. Michael and St. Gabriel) ; disrespect towards parents ; disregard of the commandment to love our neighbour ; idolatry, or at least misleading fiction ; schism directed against the unity, authority, and power of the Church , things of evil sound and to be vehemently suspected of heresy. In proclaiming that these apparitions were St. Michael, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, and that their acts and words are good, as firmly as she holds the Christian Faith, she is to be held suspect of straying from the faith : for if she believes that the articles of the faith have no more assurance than her own beliefs, her apparitions whom she names St. Michael, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, and her statement that their acts and words are good, she strays from the faith. For to say thus, as contained in Article V and also in Article I, that in not receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist, at the time ordained by the Church, she has acted rightly, and that all she has done was done by God's command, is to blaspheme against Him, to stray from the faith.

“ The said doctors and masters asked of us, as public notaries, a deposition for all that precedes, and requested us to forward it to the said lord judges This was done

in the chapel of the archbishop's manor at Rouen, in the said year, convocation, month, day, and pontificate, in presence of the discreet persons master Jean de la Haye and Jean Barenton, priests beneficed under the Church at Rouen, called and requested to be witnesses hereto "

Signed so

And I, Guillaume Manchon, priest of the diocese of Rouen, notary public and sworn by the imperial and apostolic authority of the archbishop's court of Rouen, have been present at all that has been said, done, and reported, with another notary and the above-signed witnesses, and have seen and heard it done And for that reason I have affixed my usual signature together with my seal and subscription as notary public, to this present public instrument, faithfully written in my hand, as witness and in good faith, at the request of the above

G MANCHON

' And I, Guillaume Colles, or Boisguillaume, priest of the diocese of Rouen, public notary by apostolic authority and of the archbishop's Court of Rouen, notary sworn in this case, have been present at all that has been said and done, with the witnesses and notary named above, and have seen and heard it done Hence I have signed the present public instrument, which is a faithful record, but in another hand, with my usual signature and seal as called and sworn to do, in assurance and as witness of the foregoing "

COLLES

Master Denis Gastinel, licentiate in civil and canon law, gave his opinion in the following form

With all the customary protestations in a case of doctrine, and with all submission to the corrections of my lords judges, of all other doctors in divinity, and of all learned in civil and canon law, whom it behoves to penetrate the intricacies of this matter, I feel compelled

to say that this case is verily itself infected, its subject of a suspected faith, persistent in error, schismatical, and heretical : and all this is opposed to the dogma, wholesome custom, and decisions of the Church, the General Councils, the holy canons, and civil, human, and political law : this woman is scandalous, seditious, and wanton, towards God, the Church, and the faithful. She takes herself for an authority, a doctor and a judge, when her very faith is suspect, and she herself persistent in schismatical and heretical error, if she persists in her defence in the question submitted to authority, and on which her plaint is based ; she is seditious and a disturber of the peace. He who undertakes an enterprise such as this, who professes such false and perverse doctrine, who returns not with speed to the unity of the Catholic faith, refusing to abjure publicly so extravagant a doctrine and the stain of obstinate heresy, and who does not make suitable reparation, as soon as the errors and perversities of such a doctrine have been brought home to him, is to be abandoned to the judgment of the secular judge, to undergo the sentence meet for his crime. If he would abjure, let him have the blessings of absolution, and let him suffer what is wont to be inflicted in these cases : and let him be confined in prison, that penitence may not delay, with the bread of sorrow and the water of affliction, let him weep for his sins, and commit no more for which he need weep."

Signed: D. GASTINEL.

Master Jean Basset, licentiate in canon law, official of Rouen, gave his counsel in the following manner

"Reverend fathers and masters, lord judges in this suit, I have little or nothing to say in a matter of such importance for the faith, so arduous and difficult, especially in what relates to the revelations mentioned in the papers which your Highnesses have passed to me. Nevertheless, with the wonted reservations in such matters, and under the benign correction of those

interested, I feel compelled to speak as follows on the said papers

' Firstly, with regard to the revelations themselves, I say that it may be that the statements of this woman thereon are possible with God none the less, seeing that this woman has not confirmed them by miracle or Scripture, and that there is no evidence, no belief must be accorded to the speech and statements of this woman concerning her revelations

' With regard to her abandonment of feminine attire, if she has not been commanded by God to this effect, which is not credible, she has acted against honour, the decency of her sex, and honest living

" In the matter reported above, that she has not been willing to attend Communion, at least once a year, she has gone expressly against the decision and command of the Church

' In that she has not seen fit to submit to the judgment of the Church Militant, it seems that she has infringed the article of faith *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam*

Nevertheless I intend all which precedes on the assumption that her visions do not come from God which I do not believe But on that, and on other propositions of hers, I refer to the decision of my lords the theologians and others whose business it is to be able to determine them, in order to qualify or name them in a Christian fashion As for the form and manner of this woman's trial, if it is shown and explained to me according to the last chapter *de Haereticis* in the VIth book, notwithstanding my poor intellect and my unworthiness and ignorance in law, I offer to work at it with all my power

Your Jean Basset, unworthy licentiate in decrees and official of Rouen in the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see

So signed JEAN BASSET

The reverend father in Christ, Gilles, lord abbot of Ste. Trinité de Fécamp, gave his opinion in conformity with that of the said lords and masters, as is shown in the following letter signed with his own hand

“Reverend father and most distinguished master, your servant most humbly and promptly commends himself to your very reverend paternity. I received yesterday at ten o'clock your letters summarily containing the request made by your reverend self, and by the Vice-Inquisitor, of the doctors of theology, lately at Rouen, to deliberate doctrinally upon certain articles of faith ; which has been done. You further desired my opinion. But, very reverend father and most distinguished master, when such men, in so great numbers, cannot be found in the whole world, what can my ignorance conceive or my unlearned tongue bring forth ? Nothing. Therefore I adhere to their opinion, in everything, and in conformity with them I cleave to their deliberations, adding my protests and the customary preparatory submissions , and I fix thereto my sign manual, in witness thereof. If, very reverend father and master, there is any pleasure of yours · command it For in the performance of your wishes though my ability may falter my good intentions never shall. May the Most High keep you, very reverend father, and grant you blessed times of prosperity and success. Written at Fécamp, April 21, your very reverend father's disciple, abbot of Fécamp.

So signed G. DE FÉCAMP.

Master Jacques Guesdon, minor brother, doctor of sacred theology, gave his opinion in conformity with that of the said lords and masters, of which the tenor follows, signed with his own hand.

“This Wednesday, April 13th, Jacques Guesdon, master of theology of the Franciscan convent of Rouen, appeared before my lord bishop of Beauvais He affirmed that he had been present, with my lords the theologians and the masters of this town, in the archiepiscopal chapel

of Rouen, at the meeting and deliberations which took place there, upon the case of the said Jeanne, commonly called *The Maid* Since each gave his advice separately, as he himself did, and they came to a single and unanimous opinion, he continues in agreement with them, and adds his opinion to theirs But since he must attend to other business elsewhere he asks leave of my lord to retire and depart Nevertheless he is ready to continue his work in the trial, if he is so bidden, as he is bounden to do, and when he returns, to participate in it again "

So signed ' I certify this to be true ' GUESDON

Master Jean Maugier, canon of Rouen, licentiate in canon law, gave an opinion to corroborate that of the said lords and masters, as is shown below and signed with his own hand

' Reverend father, and you my lord the vicar of the lord Inquisitor, pray learn that I have received your communication with all due humility and obedience I have seen its contents and your request and the qualifications and opinions of my reverend lords and masters the distinguished professors of sacred theology, assembled in so great number with unanimous opinion and judgment, and I will answer your request Certainly their decision and opinion appear to me good, just, holy, and meet to be followed, to conform and agree to the holy laws and ecclesiastical sanctions Therefore, following their opinion I join myself with them in everything, and for every occasion, with the protestations they made when they delivered their sentence, and those customary in these affairs

Always ready to do your good pleasure "

Signed JEAN MAUGIER

Master Jean Bruillot, licentiate in canon law, chantry priest and canon of Rouen Cathedral, gave his opinion in conformity with that of the said lords and masters, as is shown below written in his own hand and signed with his sign manual

' Having seen, reverend fathers and my lord vicar of the lord Inquisitor appointed by the apostolic see in

all the Kingdom of France, the confessions and statement and other matters you have sent to me in writing ; having conferred with many learned authorities in canon and civil law ; having repeatedly turned over the leaves of the registers and meditated on the acts of the woman in question , and also considered the motives which can incline me towards the opinion of my lords and masters, these men learned in divine law and so experienced in such affairs who in great number are absolutely unanimous, I refer to and sustain their decision which appears to me according to holy laws ; and I am with them in their opinion, subject to the customary protestations."

So signed:

" J BRUILLOT, chantry priest and canon of Rouen Cathedral."

Master Nicolas de Venderès, licentiate in canon law, arch-deacon of Eu and canon of Rouen, gave judgment sustaining the opinion of the said lords and masters, as is shown in the schedule below signed with his own hand

" With the protestations customary in such acts, which have been made by my lords and my masters the distinguished professors in sacred theology when they gave their opinion, I have seen their judgments which you addressed to me, reverend father and lord vicar of the Inquisitor, and their appreciations of the statements and confessions. To answer your request according to the faculties God has granted me, and with as little incompetence as possible, I declare that my lords and masters judged, proceeded and acted well, piously and sweetly . as I turned over the pages I found their opinion good, just, reasonable, and far from divergency from canonical sanctions it is much more in complete agreement therewith. Consequently it is my opinion that I should embrace their decision and follow my lords and masters and adhere to their judgment in everything."

So signed: " Your servant and chaplain."

NICOLAS DE VENDERÈS.

Master Gilles Deschamps, licentiate in canon law, chancellor and canon of the cathedral of Rouen, gave judgment sustaining that of the said lords and masters in a communication, signed with his own hand, of which the tenor follows

"Reverend father in Christ, you and the lord vicar of the reverend lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error, sent to me in connexion with this woman certain propositions which your Highnesses had extracted With the submissions and protestations proper in matters of faith, and without affirming any rash thing, intending in no way to derogate from the Divine Power, and having reflected and weighed it all in view of and considering the charitable admonitions, the many summons and the choice offered even yesterday to the said Jeanne, in the presence of the venerable assembly of prelates and doctors in both canon and civil law, by you reverend father and my lord archdeacon of Evreux your deputy, to the end that she should submit the acts and sayings contained in these articles and her trial to the decision and judgment of the Church Universal, of the sovereign pontiff or of four notable men in obedience to him or of the church of Poitiers (which summons and exhortations were to my mind justly and reasonably made to her, and by all means should these charitable monitions and exhortations laudably begun by you to the honour of God, be continued for her salvation) now in view of all the preceding matter, the replies she made, and especially that she would in no way meet these exhortations or take the choice offered her, unless some other fact is brought before me to reveal the correction and reform of her statements, or some more healthy explanation, I think the said articles are suspect in faith, contrary to good customs, and ecclesiastical sanctions For further more learned and illuminating qualification of the articles I think the judgments of the doctors of both canon and civil law are very worthy of consideration Given in the year of our Lord 1431, May 3rd, under my sign manual "

So signed G DESCHAMPS

Master Nicolas Caval, licentiate in civil law, canon of the cathedral of Rouen, gave judgment sustaining that of the said lords and masters in a communication signed by his own hand of which the tenor follows

“ I have seen the statements you sent me under the seals of the notaries public, reverend father in Christ and you lord vicar of the Inquisitor ; have seen and heard the unanimous opinion of many notable masters of sacred theology which was given to you reverend father , and seeing that in my judgment their opinion is in accordance with ecclesiastical sanctions, I hold to their opinion : subject notwithstanding to your corrections and the protestations customary in such matters. Your very humble NICOLAS CAVAL, canon of the church of Rouen.”

Master Robert Le Barbier, licentiate in canon law, canon of the church of Rouen, gave his decision sustaining the opinions of the said lords and masters in a communication which follows

“ The statements of this woman which were sent to me on behalf of you reverend father, my most feared lord and bishop, and of your highness, my lord vicar of the lord Inquisitor, I have seen, as well as the decisions given in this matter by several lords, masters and professors of sacred theology. After deliberating with certain of them and with other men learned in canon law, I refer and decide for the time being in accordance with the opinions the masters of theology have addressed to you , with the reservations customary in matters of faith But to my little intelligence and subject to the superior judgment of others the statements should be sent for the good of the matter and the justification of the faith to our holy mother the University of Paris, and in particular to the Faculties of Theology and of Decrees : their opinions must be had before judgment on the case is delivered.”

So signed : LE BARBIER.

Master Jean Alespée, licentiate in civil law, canon of the church of Rouen, gave an opinion in conformity with that of the said lords and masters, as is shown in the following communication signed with his sign manual and written with his own hand

'To the reverend father in Christ my most feared lord and bishop of Beauvais, ordinary judge in this trial, and to you venerable father, master Jean Le Maître, vicar of the lord Inquisitor, reverence, honour, and promptitude in your service Although I am not worthy or even sufficient among the least, you have requested and then summoned me under legal penalty before Thursday next (this day being fixed once and for all from Monday, April 16th, 1431) to send you in writing my deliberation, namely whether the statements contained in the articles despatched to me with your first request, or certain of them, are suspect or contrary to the orthodox faith, contrary to Holy Scripture and the Holy Roman Church, and the judgment of authorities approved by the Church, to ecclesiastical sanctions, whether they are scandalous, rash, hurtful, criminal, offensive in any way to good manners, and what it is fitting to say in the judgment of the faith I, Jean Alespée, son of obedience, although the limits of my mind know little, nevertheless in order not to appear disobedient—which God forbid—and with the protestations which have been sent to you in writing by the reverend fathers and my lords and masters who have digested the matter better than I have, I hold and believe that the statements and propositions sent and despatched by them have been well, duly, justly, and piously judged according to the ecclesiastical sanctions Therefore I must refer to their deliberations and opinions, I refer and adhere thereto If, however, you have conferred with our mother the University of Paris, the Faculty of Theology or Decrees, or one of them, or if you happen to do so, I in no way wish to think alone and separate myself from their deliberations but rather would I submit myself

in advance to their decision, to that of the holy Roman Church and the holy Council General."

So signed : J. ALESPÉE

Master Jean de Châtillon, archdeacon and canon of Evreux, doctor of sacred theology, gave judgment sustaining that of the said lords and masters in a communication signed with his own hand of which the tenor follows

"Under the protestations customary in such matters I declare that I am in agreement with the said professors of sacred theology, and differ in no way from their opinion of the quality, acts and sayings of the person, etc. (here follows the opinion of the sixteen assessors). This I declare, subject to the correction of those whose duty is to bring back the wanderers to the way of truth, and with the said protestations and submissions, under my seal, in my own hand, in witness of these things written above, according to the form of the request."

So signed : JEAN DE CHÂTILLON.

Master Jean de Bouesgue, doctor of theology, almoner of Fécamp, gave his opinion in this form

"I, Jean de Bouesgue, doctor of theology of the University of Paris, for 25 years almoner of the venerable abbey of Fécamp, in view of what has been written on the subject of this woman, her acts and her sayings, the quality of her person, the kinds of apparitions and revelations, etc., think she is schismatic of the unity, authority, and power of the Church ; infected with heresy, in view of her obduracy, and of what she said concerning St Michael, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, of the sacrament of communion, etc., and that she did it all at God's bidding. Therefore is she to be punished and dealt with by law, to the honour of God and the exaltation of the faith."

So signed . J. DE BOUESGUE.

Master Jean Garin, doctor of law, canon of the church of Rouen, gave judgment sustaining the lords and masters above named in a public document as is shown in the schedule signed with his own hand

‘ Reverend father and lord, by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais and you brother Jean Le Maître, vicar of the Inquisitor, etc, know that I have received with reverence and honour the propositions, inserted in a codicil, which you transmitted to me I have seen them and their content, as well as the opinions of the learned doctors in respect of them, I have studied them according to my mean intelligence Then, with doctors of canon and civil law and others as learned who met together, when I had heard the judgments on the said propositions and statements of our reverend fathers the distinguished professors of theology who were assembled in great number to this end, in order to confer with one another, I compared them according to judicial procedure These judgments are to my mean intelligence in accordance with the decisions of the Holy Roman Church, and of doctors approved by the Church and by ecclesiastical sanctions, moreover, they are entirely in conformity with the holy laws Therefore, with the protestations which the reverend masters and the doctors of law, of whom I am the least, made in this respect, which are customarily formulated in matters of this kind and importance, I sustain their opinion which is so learned, just and reasonable, and to my meagre mind, in accordance with the doctrine of the holy laws With a zealous heart and as far as in me lies I am ready to obey with all speed the commands of the Church and yourself in all things

So signed Entirely yours J GARIN

The venerable chapter of the cathedral of Rouen deliberated as follows

‘ You reverend father and you venerable lord vicar of the Inquisitor of Heretical Error, you have sum-

moned the chapter of the cathedral of Rouen to give you for the faith's sake a salutary counsel on certain propositions extracted and chosen from the confessions and sayings of the woman commonly known as *The Maid* : to wit whether these statements or any thereof being seen and weighed are contrary to the orthodox faith, etc., what in the judgment of the faith they must be thought of, as is contained at greater length in the exordium of the memorandum of these statements. But as we reflected on the importance of this matter we deferred our answer since we desired first, in order to give you a more certain and positive counsel, to be acquainted with the conferences, deliberations and decisions of the distinguished University of Paris, particularly of the Faculties of Theology and Decrees. Eventually, we saw and carefully considered the opinions of many doctors of sacred theology who were in this town , and also of the assembly of prelates, doctors of theology, of canon law, of licentiates in both canon and civil law and of other learned men, which you solemnly held and presided over on May 2nd, wherein many gentle and pious exhortations and summons were addressed to the said woman both by you and by the venerable lord archdeacon of Evreux the distinguished professor of sacred theology especially appointed by your order and authority, to persuade this woman that for the salvation of her soul and the welfare of her body, for the honour and praise of God, for the reparation due to the Catholic faith, she should correct and amend her shameless ways and words, and submit as every Catholic should to the judgment and decision of the Church Universal, of our Holy Father the Pope, of the Council General and of the other prelates of the Church to whom she could turn, of four distinguished and learned churchmen from the temporal obedience and dominion of her own party, of the doctors and others aforementioned who being present here confirmed that counsel.

“Now this woman would in no way accept and

receive these admonitions, exhortations and charitable summonses. Far from so doing, when she was so urgently and repeatedly offered for the sake of the salvation of her body and soul, she damnably and perniciously scorned and rejected them all. She absolutely refused to submit to the decision and judgment of the Church, of the Sovereign Pontiff or of any other of her judges, notwithstanding the explanation and exposition of her errors and failings which were all most clearly shown her. Therefore, subject of course to the submissions and protestations customary in these affairs, we declare as follows in favour of the faith. Yes, the decisions and appreciations delivered by the doctors of theology on these statements were gentle, just and reasonable. We adhere to their doctrine, adding that upon consideration of and careful attention to the warnings, admonitions and charitable exhortations, to the answers and denials made by this woman, and to her obstinacy of heart, it appears to us proper for her to be accounted a heretic. Given in our chapter in the year of Our Lord 1431, May 3rd.

Signed R GUÉROULD

Masters Aubert Morel and Jean Duchemin, licentiates in canon law, advocates of the official court of Rouen, gave their opinion as follows

With the protestations customary in matters of faith, and submitting ourselves to the correction of our lords the judges and of the other doctors of sacred theology and the legal authorities to whom it is fitting to go deeply into this, it appears to us meet to declare first, that in respect of the alleged revelations of this woman, according to written law it is possible for them to exist in God, nevertheless as this woman has not confirmed them by miracle or testimony of Holy Writ, as there is no evidence for them, there is no reason to believe in the words and statements of this woman. And in respect of her refusal of woman's dress, since she has not received God's bidding to this effect (which cannot

be believed, since she alone did it, of her own accord, against both the honour and repute of her sex as well as good manner of life), since she was duly warned and disdained our admonitions, she is and should be excommunicate and anathema. This woman, in default of a reasonable motive or the instruction of her priest, is compelled to receive the sacrament of communion from time to time, and at least once a year, otherwise she breaks the ruling and commands of the Church : likewise to submit to the Church Militant. And if, being admonished on this point in a competent manner, she has not submitted, she appears to have broken the article of the faith : *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam*. All this we state on the assumption that her revelations did not come from God ; and on these and other propositions, statements, and pretensions indicated, we refer ourselves to the judgment of our lords the theologians whom they more particularly concern. Whence it appears to us that the propositions are suspect in respect of the faith, contrary to honest living, to the decisions of the Church, and even scandalous and seditious, and make whoever professed such a doctrine suspect in respect of the faith, especially if she obstinately sustains it. She must therefore be punished with perpetual imprisonment, with bread of sorrow and water of affliction, to weep for her sins and never again do anything that need be wept for, or some other extraordinary penalty, subject to the moderation of the good pleasure of my lords the judges."

Signed: A MOREL. J. DUCHEMIN.

Eleven advocates of the court of Rouen, licentiates in canon or civil law, or both, gave their opinion as follows, as set forth in a public document to this effect. They were Guillaume de Livet, Pierre Carel, Guérould Poustel, Geoffroy du Crotay, Richard des Saulx, Bureau de Cormeilles, Jean Le Doulx, Laurent du Busc, Jean Colombel, Raoul Anguy, Jean le Tavernier

" In the name of the Lord, Amen. Know all those

who shall see this present public instrument that in the year of our Lord 1431, indiction nine, the last day of April in the fourteenth year of the pontificate of Our most Holy Father in Christ Martin by divine Providence fifth of that name in the chapel or oratory of the archiepiscopal manor of Rouen there were assembled the venerable and discreet advocates of the archiepiscopal court, to the number of eleven, whose names and surnames have not been declared herein They, for their knowledge of law, had been summoned under legal penalties by the reverend father in Christ my lord Pierre by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais and by the religious brother Jean Le Maître vicar of the Inquisitor, to confer upon certain articles which the said lord judges had dispatched to the said advocates so that they might send in writing their own deliberations to the judges before the Monday following, as is contained in a certain paper memorandum, signed with the signs manual of Guillaume Colles, otherwise called Boisguillaume, and of Guillaume Manchon, priest, notaries public In my presence and of the undersigned witnesses especially called and summoned, the said lord advocates assembled, for they were prepared to obey as far as they were able the commands of my lord judges, since they were not anxious to incur the penalties of the law, but as true sons of obedience with a unanimous consent and a single will they deliberated thus, in the manner and form shown below

Subject to the kindly correction of our fathers and lords the judges and all other meet persons, although in an affair of such difficulty and importance as that which concerned the articles which your highnesses have dispatched to us we can say and declare in writing very little or nothing, nevertheless, subject to the protestations customary in such matters we think it proper to declare this

First, in respect of the revelations mentioned in the articles, although it may be that the claims of this woman

concerning these articles are possible in God, nevertheless there is no reason to believe this woman, since she has not confirmed her words by working miracles or by the testimony of the Holy Scripture. In respect of her rejection of woman's dress or refusal to wear it, it appears that she acted against the honour of woman's sex : she should be warned of the necessity of resuming woman's dress, otherwise sentence of excommunication can be pronounced against her, if she has not received God's command on this point, which cannot be presumed. When she says she would be deprived of the sacrament of communion with Christ at the times when the faithful are wont to partake of it, rather than put off man's dress, on this point, it appears, she goes directly counter to her holy duties, since every Christian is compelled to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist once a year. When she will not submit to the judgment of the Church Militant, it appears she contravenes the article *Unam Sanctam* and the decision of the law. This, be it always understood, on the assumption that her visions and statements do not proceed from God, which is not credible. Nevertheless for the estimate or detail of these propositions and others related in the trial and the articles, we refer ourselves to the decision of the theologians of our mother the University of Paris, who by their learning are more proper judges thereof.

" On each and every one of these points the eleven lord advocates in assembly before me as notary public, asked me to have made and set forth an official declaration, in one or more copies which was done in the said chapel in the morning of the year, indiction, month, day and pontificate aforesaid, in the presence of master Pierre Cochon and Simon Davy, priests, sworn notaries of the archiepiscopal court of Rouen. And I, Guillaume Lecras, priest and notary of the diocese and archiepiscopal court of Rouen, by imperial and apostolic authority, charged with the inspection of witnesses, was present, with the said witnesses, at each and every thing which the said advocates did and said, and I saw and heard

their acts and deliberations and wrote them down Therefore to this present public instrument written by my hand I have fixed my customary seal, and I have signed below as I was required and sworn, in witness of the truth of these things "

Signed G LECRAS

The reverend father in Christ Philibert, lord bishop of Coutances, gave his opinion in this form

To the reverend father and lord in Christ Pierre by God's grace bishop of Beauvais, my very dear lord Reverend father and lord in Christ, I received in all cordiality and esteem the letters which you addressed to me in this in my absence, as well as a certain book, containing the confessions and statements of a certain woman divided into twelve articles and signed with the signs manual of three notaries and with the royal seal As far as I have been able to gather from these articles, this woman affirms that St Michael and St Gabriel with a host of angels, and St Catherine and St Margaret, appeared to her, sometimes near a fairy tree that she bodily touched these saints who comforted her, and promised them to keep her virginity And these saints told the woman, at God's bidding, to go to a certain prince and with her he would regain a great kingdom that she should assume and wear male dress, as she did Therefore she went to this prince, accompanied by St Michael and a host of angels and saints, and a most precious crown was given by the angel to the king She said she knew by revelation that she would escape from prisons, that the French with her company would do a greater deed than ever before or ever was done by all Christendom that for her to be in man's dress amongst the French as she was before her capture, would be one of the greatest pieces of fortune that could happen to the whole kingdom of France That from her prince she had received arms and soldiers, and had often published mandates in which she inserted

the words JHESUS and MARIA, and also the sign of the cross, when she intended men to do other than as she declared ; in others she threatened with death those who did not obey her letters. Moreover, she hurled herself from a tower in spite of the prohibition of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, which was a great sin, capable of remission however by confession. This she knew by revelation. So she hurled herself out, preferring death to imprisonment in the hands of her enemies and the prospect of seeing the town of Compiègne destroyed. She said she would die and go without holy communion rather than give up man's dress : that she believes she has never been guilty of mortal sin, that she knows she is as assured of the salvation of her soul as if she were already in the kingdom of heaven. Of certain purely contingent events she professes to have certain knowledge, as if she saw them in reality. Further she claims to know that God loves certain living persons she has named more than he loves her : also she affirms she did reverence to the angels, St. Catherine and St. Margaret, uncovering her head, bending her knees, kissing the earth on which they walked. She said she was as convinced and positive that her revelations came from God as she firmly believed in the Catholic faith and that Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered passion for our salvation. That if the Church wished her to do aught contrary to the command she had received she would not for any reason do it, it would be impossible for her. That she is sure that what is written in her trial comes from God, and she will not submit to the judgment of the Church Militant or of any man alive, but to God whose will she does, especially in respect of the revelations. This, reverend father, is what I have been able to gather from the articles summarized from the original trial, and, to my mind, a lawfully conducted one. There is naturally no reason to suppose that you, reverend father, and the lords and masters so learned and experienced whom you have

consulted in such an affair, could in anything, much less in such a question, wander from the path of truth. And, although this matter has been conducted in the most learned and accurate fashion, and though I can supply no forceful or new explanation, I will, as you command, require and constrain me, with as little error as possible, speak in this way, but will abstain from evaluating the omissions in each of the articles since I do not wish to seem to teach Minerva herself. Certainly, reverend father, I consider this woman to have a subtle spirit, inclined to evil, excited by a devilish instinct, bereft of the grace of the Holy Spirit, namely virtue and humility. It is evident that these two signs are in no way present in this woman, if we carefully weigh her words. Indeed certain of her statements (saving a superior judgment) appear contrary to the Catholic faith, heretical or at least vehemently suspected of heresy. These and others are filled only with boastings, superstitions that are scandalous, seditious of the public weal, and very frequently, more than I can express, offensive and dangerous. These statements even to blind eyes may not be dissimulated or passed over lightly without the timely remedy of justice, and as justice moreover advises, their condemnation may not be put off for it is possible that some are of the opinion that it is meet to postpone the discussion and decision of this cause. For this woman, even if she were to consent to revoke all those parts of her statements which are in need of it, must be left under excellent guard as long as it is necessary until the day when she shall appear to have been sufficiently reformed and corrected. If she will not revoke what she should, she should be dealt with according to the custom for those who are stiffnecked against the faith. This is all subject to a higher opinion than mine. Thus, reverend father and lord, have I felt it my duty to speak in this circumstance, bating every correction which a higher judgment than my own can bring. I am ready to perform whatever is your pleasure,

and may the Most High please to keep you in happiness according to your desires. Written at Coutances, May 5th. Yours in all things, most reverend father, Philibert, bishop of Coutances.”

Signed· SAINTIGNY.

The reverend father in Christ, the lord bishop of Lisieux, gave the following opinion

“To the reverend father and lord in Christ my lord Pierre by divine grace bishop of Beauvais and to the prudent and learned master Jean Le Maître, vicar of the Lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error, Zanon, by the same grace bishop of Lisieux, greeting in Our Lord and cordial goodwill in complying with your demands. Reverend father and lord, know that I have received your letters and the statements confessed recently by a certain woman commonly called *The Maid* in her trial, in the form of articles drawn up in a paper memorandum, with all the integrity of purpose proper to your reverence from my part. And having seen, examined, and carefully studied them all, I send you herewith the articles with my judgment and opinion, under my seal. Given at Lisieux this 14th day of March, 1431.”

Signed: LANGLOIS

“Reverend father, it is extremely difficult to establish a certain judgment in the matter of apparitions and revelations contained in the articles you have addressed to me under the seals of certain notaries. for according to the words of the Apostle ‘the natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, and will not know the mind of the Lord that he may instruct him’; and as St. Augustine declares in his treatise *De spiritu et anima*, the mind is often deceived and mocked in this kind of vision or apparition; for now it sees true things, now false, and at times either a good or a false spirit is in control. It is not easy to distinguish by what

spirit the mind is directed, therefore we cannot give credence to any person who simply and barely affirms he is sent from God to show forth in the world the secret and invisible judgment of God, unless he is justified by the appearance of signs and miracles or by the special testimony of the Scripture (as is declared in the decretal concerning heretics, *Cum ex injuncto*) but no conjecture or external appearance, or sign of admirable holiness or distinguished life appear in her, to my mind, from which it may be presumed that God has breathed into this woman the breath of prophecy, in virtue whereof she might have performed such marvellous deeds as she boasts. Therefore and in view of these facts I, Zanon, bishop of Lisieux, subject to the protestations and submissions usual in these affairs, after a mature examination and deliberation, I declare that considering the vile condition of her person, the foolish and presumptuous statements she has made, the manner and form in which she claims to have received these visions and revelations, and after having reflected on her other words and deeds, there is in truth reason to conclude that her visions and revelations do not come from God through the ministry of His angels, as she affirms. One of two things must be accepted either that there have been deceptions and phantasms on the part of devils who usurp the form of angels and sometimes counterfeit the appearance and likeness of different persons, or that they are lies humanly conceived and invented to abuse gross and ignorant natures. In the first case many of the said articles contain false and scandalous innovations, rash and presumptuous declarations, full of false pride offensive to pious ears, of impiety, and of contempt of the sacrament of Communion. When she says she will not submit her acts and sayings to the decision and judgment of the Church Militant she utterly destroys the power and authority of the Church. Wherefore, after she has been properly and charitably admonished and exhorted, and solemnly required and

summoned to submit the interpretation of her declarations and confessions as every faithful Christian must to the judgment and decision of Our Holy Father the Pope, of the Church Universal met together in general council, or of the other prelates of the Church who possess this authority, if she refuses and disdains with an obstinate mind to submit, she must be judged schismatic and vehemently suspected in the faith. This is my opinion in the present matter, bating a superior judgment. In witness whereof I affix my seal on the year and day above mentioned."

Signed: ZANON of LISIEUX.

The reverend fathers in Christ, masters Nicolas, abbot of Jumièges, and Guillaume, abbot of Cormeilles, doctors of decrees, gave their opinion in a memorandum signed with their hand, of which the tenor follows

"You ask and require us in a memorandum, most reverend father and lord in Christ, Pierre, bishop of Beauvais, and you brother Jean Le Maître, vicar of the lord Inquisitor, that we humble abbots, Nicolas de Jumièges and Guillaume de Cormeilles, should present to you in writing before Monday next our deliberations upon the subject of whether the statements contained in the articles that you have addressed to us in regard to a certain woman are contrary to the orthodox faith or suspect, etc, as is declared more fully in the memorandum. Formerly, however, we made answer to your demand under our seals that the whole trial of this woman should be submitted to our mother the University of Paris, whose opinion in such a difficult task we are most anxious to follow. Nevertheless you were not satisfied with our answer and have once more made this request therefore, submitting our opinion to the decision of the Holy Roman Church and the Council General, we declare to-day that the case of this woman may be reduced to four points. First, concerning submission to the Church Militant, this woman should be

charitably admonished in public and before all eyes, and the danger she is incurring should be explained to her if after this lawful warning she persists in her evil doing she must be deemed suspect in the faith. As for her revelations, and the wearing of man's dress which she claims to have from God, it does not *prima facie* appear to us that we can hold or believe or give faith to them, since they are not supported by holiness of life or miracles. The fourth point, that she is not guilty of mortal sin, God alone knows, who reads the heart of men, and as these are things we cannot know who may not judge of what is hidden, the more so since we were not present at her examination, we refer ourselves to the masters of theology for a further decision. In witness whereof we fix our signs manual to this scrip, Sunday, April 29th, 1431."

Signed N DE JUMIÈGES

G, abbot of Cormeilles

Master Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law, treasurer of the church of Rouen, gave his opinion as follows

Reverend father in Christ my most feared lord and you, our honoured lord and master, may your highnesses know that beyond what I have already written to you I can say nothing, except that I believe these statements to be false, treacherous and cunningly invented by this woman and her abettors to accomplish her aims and those of her party. For further qualification of these propositions I defer to the masters of theology and intend to adhere to their opinion. These opinions are subject to the customary protestations in such difficult affairs. Given this last day of April, 1431."

Signed Your servant, R ROUSSEL

Master Pierre Minier, Jean Pigache, and Richard de Grouchet, bachelors of theology, gave their opinion in the following manner

'Subject to the protestations we elsewhere indicate,

and to which we adhere, upon those things which you reverend father and the vicar of the lord Inquisitor demand our reply, namely a formal judgment on certain statements of this woman's which we heard, whether they are contrary to the orthodox faith, to Holy Scripture, and suspect in matters of faith, it appeared to us then as now, that a formal answer on these statements, subject to a higher decision, is dependent upon a positive distinction which our insufficiency cannot attain, concerning the origin of the revelations mentioned in the articles which you addressed to us. Because, if these revelations proceed from an evil spirit or demon, or are imagined by her own efforts, it appears to us that many of the statements are suspect in faith, injurious, contrary to honest living and infected with many errors indicated in the memorandum. If on the contrary these revelations come from God or a good spirit, which is however not clear to us, they cannot in our opinion be interpreted in an evil sense. Thus, reverend father and lord, our consciences dictate in all humility and due submission in respect of the points whereon you seek our answer."

Signed: P. MINIER, J. PIGACHE, R. DE GROUCHET.

Master Raoul Le Sauvage, bachelor of theology, gave his opinion in a memorandum signed with his own hand of which the tenor follows

"Subject to all due protestations and submissions which I have elsewhere expressed in my deliberation, to which I adhere and which I beg you once more to receive, reverend father in Christ, my most feared lord and you, my reverend master lord vicar of the Inquisitor ; of the statements concerning certain revelations in respect of which you lately addressed me, some, as I have already indicated, *prima facie* appear to me and formally are scandalous . others are suspect in faith, others still are rash, inciting to evil and error. And the better to expound them I have referred myself and do so once more to the lords and masters my superiors. Neverthe-

less now, without affirming anything which may not be affirmed, and humbly submitting my person and sayings to your kindly correction, reverend father and lord, as well as that of the lords and masters my superiors, when in Articles I and XI she says she saw St Michael in the flesh, I do not know whether she is speaking the truth, but I fear there is some phantasm or invented lie In respect of St Catherine and St Margaret ordering her in God's name to wear man's dress which she would rather die than put off, there is, I fear, presumptuousness To prefer not to receive Mass, to be deprived of the sacrament of the Eucharist at the time ordained by the Church, rather than to give up her male costume, seems to me scandalous and of evil example When she postponed and refused the submission of her person and deeds to the Church Militant, after being repeatedly admonished and required so to do, and in Article XII when she will not refer herself in respect of her revelations to the decision of the Church Militant or any living man, she appears in my opinion schismatic, suspect of error, and of evil example, for she is the more firmly and with greater assurance bound to obey the instructions and commands of the Church rather than her apparitions which are perchance fantastic and diabolical, since evil spirits sometimes counterfeit the appearance of good angels In respect of Article II and the sign that she claims the prince to whom she was sent received, I do not know perhaps as before, an invention and lying fiction In respect of Article III, that she is certain that he who visited her was St Michael because he so named himself, it appears a presumption beyond credence of any spirit, and perhaps as before the illusion of the evil one In respect of her belief in her own truth and goodness, which she holds as firmly as she believes that Christ suffered and died for us, it appears that she is suspect of heresy, that she exposes our faith to derision and so endangers its strength In respect of Article IV, that she is as certain of certain future events as of that which

is actually before her eyes, she is presumptuous, for the things to come are not established of necessity ; and even if one allowed it to be a divine revelation, it is perhaps merely in the category of the prophet Jonah's foretelling, ' Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown.' In respect of St. Catherine and St. Margaret revealing to her that they would deliver her, it is doubtless a false invention or boasting. In respect of the revelation of the sword, perhaps it was the revelation of an evil or human spirit, and there is no reason to give it credence. In respect of Article V, that she assumed man's dress at God's command, it is not probable, but scandalous, shameful, and dishonest, especially for the woman and young girl she claims to be, unless she did it to escape violence and keep her virginity. In respect of Article VI, that in the letters she had written she inserted the sign of the cross and this sign was to indicate to those whom she wrote that they must not do as she commanded, although crosses signify what we wish, nevertheless she can be suspected of having done it at the instigation of the enemy to the scorn and blasphemy of Christ crucified, that is of the highest truth, which she hates. In respect of the remainder of the proposition, it discloses nothing but haughtiness and boasting. In Article VII, when she joined the company of a squire she had never seen, she acted with rashness and lay herself open to outrage ; and in respect of Article VIII, of hurling herself from a high tower, that is evident. When of her own will she left her father's house against her parents' will, she showed less than the honour and love we owe our parents ; she broke the commandments of honouring her father and mother, and doubtlessly acted from headstrong malice and a hard heart. In respect of Article VIII, as we have already said, when she threw herself from the tower she was ill and madly advised, and it appears that the evil spirit incited her and showed her the sign of despair ; the remainder of this proposition can only be boasting. In respect of



PORTRAIT OF CHARLES VII BY JEAN FOUQUET

F m h L

Article IX, that St Catherine and St Margaret give her promises, I do not know, but it is undoubtedly a rash invention and boastful lie. When she imagines she has not committed mortal sin, that seems to be presumptuousness, and contrary to her leap from the tower. With regard to Article X, when she affirms that God loves certain people, it is well, but when she says that St Catherine and St Margaret do not speak English, she utters a rash statement and what seems to me a sort of blasphemy, for is not God lord of all, the supreme providence, both for the English and others? Thus she appears to have spoken contrary to the law of love which we should bear our neighbour. In respect of Article XI, that she embraced and kissed bodily and with her senses St Catherine and St Margaret, I see in this nothing but imagination, and fictitious lies, or the deception of demons, and if she had adored them, simply and unconditionally, she would not have rashly exposed herself to the charge of idolatry. In respect of Article XII, I have the same opinion as of Article I. Nevertheless, my reverend father and my lords, it is meet to take into account the frailty of womankind, and the propositions and statements should be repeated to her in French, she should be charitably admonished to reform, and not to presume so much upon revelations which may be uttered and invented by the evil spirit or some other. Therefore, as I said, to bring this to a *more certain and positive conclusion and issue*, so that it cannot be suspect from any quarter, I think, though submitting to higher opinion, that for the honour of his royal majesty and of yourself, for the peace and tranquillity of your conscience, the said articles should be sent with the appropriate comments to the apostolic Holy See. These, reverend father in Christ, and my master the lord vicar of the Inquisitor, are my opinions in this matter, subject to all correction and in all obedience."

Signed R LE SAUVAGE

apt for this we offered to send them to her so that they should give her advice and instruction upon what she should do, maintain and believe We added that we were clergy, that we were by our vocation, will, and inclination, disposed to seek the salvation of the soul and assure that of the body by all possible means, as we should do it for our nearest and for ourselves That we should be happy each day to furnish her with such men as would instruct her duly, and in a word to perform for her all the Church is accustomed to do in such circumstances, for she does not shut the fold against the lamb who would return Finally we told the said Jeanne to take good account of the present admonition and to put it into effect For if she should act in opposition thereto, trusting to her own mind and her inexperienced head, we should be compelled to abandon her, that she must therefore see the peril which would result to her in that case, which, with all our might and affection, we hoped to avoid

To which Jeanne answered that she thanked us for what we said of her salvation, and added It seems to me, seeing how ill I am, that I am in great danger of death if it be that God desires to do His pleasure on me, I ask to receive confession and my Saviour also, and a burial in holy ground "

Then she was told that if she wished to receive the sacraments of the Church, she must do as good Catholics are in duty bound, and must submit to the holy Church, and if she persisted in her intention not to submit to the Church she would not be allowed to receive the sacraments she asked for, except the sacrament of penance, which we were always ready to administer But she answered 'I cannot now tell you anything more'

She was told that the more she feared for her life because of her illness, the more she ought to amend that life, that she would not enjoy the rights of the Church as a Catholic if she did not submit to the Church

She answered : " If my body dies in prison, I trust you will have it buried in holy ground , if you do not, I put my trust in Our Lord."

She was told that in her trial she had said that if she had done or said anything contrary to our Christian faith ordained by God she would not wish to sustain it. She answered : " I refer me to the answer which I made, and to Our Lord."

Then, as she had professed to have many revelations from God through the medium of St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Margaret, she was asked this question : " If some good creature were to come to you and affirm that he had received revelations from God concerning your mission, would you believe him ? " She answered that no Christian in the world could come to her saying he had a revelation about her but she would know whether he was speaking the truth or not ; she would know it through St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

Asked whether she thought God could reveal nothing to a good creature which she would not know, she answered that she knew well that He could. " But ", she added, " I should not believe any man or woman if I had no sign."

Asked whether she believed that the Holy Scriptures were revealed by God, she answered : " You know it well, it is good to know that it was."

Then she was summoned, exhorted and required to take the good counsel of the clergy and notable doctors and trust in it for the salvation of her soul. She was asked if she would submit her acts and sayings to the Church Militant, and answered in the end . " Whatever happens to me I will do and say nothing except what I have already said in the trial."

Whereupon the venerable doctors above mentioned who were present exhorted her as urgently as they could, to submit herself and her sayings to the Church Militant, citing in explanation to her many authorities and examples from the Holy Scriptures. And in particular

one of the doctors, [master Nicolas Midi], in his exhortation, quoted this passage from St Matthew, chapter xviii "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, etc," and also, "If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican" This was explained to Jeanne in French, and she was finally told that if she would not submit to the Church and obey it she would be abandoned as an infidel

To which the said Jeanne answered that she was a good Christian, and had been properly baptized, and so she would die a good Christian

Asked why, since she requested the Church to administer the sacrament of the Eucharist to her, she would not submit to the Church Militant, as then she had been promised the sacrament, she answered that she would not reply other than she had already done on the question of submission, she loved God, was a good Christian and desired to aid and support the Church with all her strength

Asked if she did not wish a fine and distinguished procession to be ordained to restore her to a good estate if she were not therein, she answered that she much desired the Church and the Catholics to pray for her

Wednesday, May 2nd Public Admonition of the Maid

On Wednesday, May 2nd, in the year of Our Lord 1431, we the said judges held session in the room of the castle of Rouen near the great hall of the castle, assisted by the reverend fathers, lords and masters assembled at our order Nicolas de Jumieges, Guillaume de Cormeilles, abbots, doctors of law, the abbot of St Ouen, the prior of St Lo, and Pierre, prior of Longueville, Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, Jean Fouchier, Maurice du Quesny, Jean Le Fevre, Guillaume Le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Jean de Chatillon, Erard Emengart, Richard Prati, Jean Carpentier, and Pierre Maurice, doctors, Nicolas Coupequesne, William Haiton, Thomas de Courcelles, Richard de Grouchet,

Pierre Minier, Raoul Le Sauvage, Jean Pigache, Jean Maugier, and Jean Eude, bachelors of sacred theology ; Raoul Roussel, treasurer of the cathedral of Rouen, doctor of canon and civil laws , Jean Garin, doctor of canon law , Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, Jean Le Doulx, licentiates of canon and civil laws ; Nicolas de Venderès, archdeacon of Eu, Jean Pinchon, archdeacon of Josas ; Jean Bruillot, chantry priest of the church of Rouen ; Richard des Saulx, Laurent du Busc, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, Jean Colombel, Raoul Anguy, Jean Le Tavernier, Guérould Poustel, licentiates of canon law ; André Marguerie, archdeacon of Petit-Caux , Jean Alespée, Gilles Deschamps, chancellor, Nicolas Caval, canons of the cathedral of Rouen ; Guillaume de Livet, Pierre Carel, Geoffroy du Crotay ; Bureau de Cormeilles, licentiate in civil laws , Guillaume Desjardins, Jean Tiphaine, doctors of medicine , brother Ysambard de La Pierre, Guillaume Legrant, Jean de Rosay, curate of Duclair, brother Jean Des Bats, Eustache Cateleu, Regnault Lejeune, Jean Mahommet, Guillaume Le Cauchois, Jean Le Tonnellier, Laurent Leduc, priests.

We the said bishop addressed the said lords and masters as follows:

“ After she had been thoroughly interrogated this woman replied to the articles judicially prepared against her by the Promoter, and we sent the digest of her confessions, drawn up and summarized in the form of twelve articles, to doctors and other persons learned in canon and civil law for the purpose of obtaining their advice. Already we have adequately perceived that in the opinion and decision of many this woman appears reprehensible in many points, although the case has not finally been decided by us ; and before we come to a final judgment many honest, conscientious and learned men have thought it expedient to endeavour by every possible means to instruct this woman on the points in which she seems to be in error, and, as far as we are able, to bring her back to the way and knowledge of

truth This end we have always desired and still with all our strength desire to attain This also we ought all to seek, especially we who live in the Church and for the ministration of holy things we ought to show her in all charity wherein her acts and sayings are out of harmony with the faith, truth, and religion, and charitably warn her to consider her salvation To this end we first tried to lead her back by means of many notable doctors of theology whom we sent to her on many different days, they gave themselves with all possible zeal to this work though they did not coerce her But the cunning of the Devil prevailed and they have not yet been of any effect When we perceived that private admonitions bore no fruit, it appeared to us opportune that this woman should by you in solemn assembly be gently and charitably admonished to amend since perhaps your presence and the exhortations of some among you will more easily induce her to humility and obedience, and dissuade her from too much reliance on her own opinion, so that she will give credence to the advice of worthy and learned men, versed in divine and human laws, and will not expose herself to perils so great that they endanger her body and soul To address this solemn admonition to her we have appointed an old and learned master of theology, one particularly understanding in these matters, namely Jean de Chatillon, archdeacon of Evreux, who, if it so please him, will accept the present task of demonstrating to this woman certain points on which she is in error, according to the counsel and consultations we have received from the said authorities, and he will persuade her to abandon her faults and errors and will show her the way of truth Now therefore this woman will be brought before you and be admonished if any among you thinks he can say or do any good thing to facilitate her return or helpfully instruct her for the salvation of her body and soul, we pray him not to hesitate to speak to us or to the assembly'

When Jeanne was led in before us and the judges on this day, we, bishop, in our name and on behalf of the Vice-Inquisitor her judge with us, counselled her to attend to the advice and warnings which the lord archdeacon, professor of sacred theology, would address to her, as he was about to utter many things profitable for the salvation of her body and soul, to which she must agree, for if she did not she lay herself open to peril of body and soul : and we explained many things to the said Jeanne, according to the tenor of the memorandum below.

Then we the said judges required the lord archdeacon to proceed charitably to the said admonitions. In obedience to our order the lord archdeacon, beginning to teach and instruct the said Jeanne, explained to her that all faithful Christians were compelled and obliged to believe and hold firmly the Christian faith and its articles , and he warned and required her in a general admonition to correct and reform herself, her words and her deeds, in accordance with the advice of the venerable doctors and masters who were learned in divine, canon and civil law.

To this general monition Jeanne answered, " Read your book," meaning the scrip the lord archdeacon held in his hand, " and then I will answer you. I trust in God my creator for everything I love Him with my whole heart."

And when she was asked if she had anything further to say in answer to this general monition, she answered : " I trust in my Judge. He is the King of Heaven and of earth."

Then the lord archdeacon proceeded to the particular monitions which he had to address to Jeanne, according to the tenor of the following memorandum. He began thus :

I. In the first place he reminded her that she had recently said that if anything evil were found in her acts and sayings which the clergy pointed out to her, she

would desire to correct herself in that respect This was a good and laudable thing to say, for every Christian must be meek, ever ready to obey those who are wiser than he, and give greater credit to the judgment of good and learned men than to his own Since then the acts and words of this woman had been diligently examined for many days by doctors and clergy, who had found in them many grave deficiencies yet, if she wished to reform, as a good devout Christian must, the clergy were always ready to act towards her in all mercy and charity to effect her salvation If, however, out of arrogant and haughty pride she desired to persist in her own views, and imagine she understood matters of faith better than doctors and learned men, she would expose herself to grave danger

II He explained to her, in respect of the revelations and visions she professed to have, that she would not submit to the Church Militant or any living man, but intended to refer herself to God alone in respect of her acts and sayings He expounded to her on this point the nature of the Church Militant, the authority it derives from God, in Whom its power resides, how every Christian is bound to believe that the Holy Church is one and Catholic, that the Holy Spirit governs it, and it never errs or falls into error, that every Catholic is bound to obey it as a son his mother, and must submit all his acts and sayings to its judgment that none, whatever his apparitions or revelations, must on their account withdraw from the judgment of the Church, since the apostles submitted their writings to the Church and that the whole Scripture, which is revealed by God, is sent for our belief by our mother the Church as an infallible guide to which we ought to conform in all things without schism or division of any kind, as St Paul the apostle teaches in many passages Moreover, every revelation from God leads us to preserve meekness and obedience towards our superiors, and never otherwise for our Lord never desired anyone to presume to

call himself subject to God alone or to refer himself in respect of his acts or sayings to Him only. Indeed, he committed and gave into the hands of the clergy the authority and power to know and judge the deeds of the faithful, whether they were good or evil : who scorned them, scorned God ; who listened to them listened to God. Finally he warned her that she must believe that the Catholic Church is incapable of error or false judgment, for he who does not hold this belief infringes the article *Unam Sanctam* which had been explained to her in detail : and he who persists in denying it must be accounted a heretic. He who does not is schismatic, and shows himself an evil thinker in respect of the holiness of the Church and the infallible direction of the Holy Spirit, and the canon laws lay it down that heavy punishment must be inflicted upon such wanderers

III. She was shown how for a long time she persisted in wearing man's dress, in the fashion of men-at-arms, and continually and needlessly wears it still, contrary to the honesty of her sex : which is scandalous and against good living and custom ; and she wore her hair cut round. All these habits are contrary to the commandments of God declared in Deuteronomy, chapter xxii. "The woman shall not wear, etc.," contrary to the instruction of the Apostle who says that woman shall veil her head, and to the prohibitions of the Church uttered in the holy Council General, to the teaching of saints, and of doctors in canon and civil law . and are of evil example to other women. And especially the said Jeanne was in error when out of a strange insistence upon her disgraceful dress she preferred not to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist at the time ordained of the Church rather than put off this dress and put on another in which she might receive the sacrament reverently and decently : scorning the command of the Church in order to satisfy such an insistent desire, although she had been often warned on this point, particularly about Easter, when she declared she greatly

desired to hear Mass and receive Communion Then we told her to resume woman's dress, which she had and still refused to do in which in our opinion she gravely erred Therefore she was admonished to change these things and put off her male costume

IV The said Jeanne, not content to wear this costume with the aforesaid aggravating circumstances, even wished to uphold that in this she acted wisely and did not err But to say that one is acting well when one goes against the teaching of the saints, against the commandments of God and His apostles, in scorn of the teachings of the Church, out of mere obstinacy in wearing a dishonest and indecent dress, is to deviate from the faith, and he who sustains it falls into heresy Moreover, she desired to attribute the responsibility for her sins to God and His saints wherein she blasphemed God and His saints by attributing unseemly things to them for they wish all honesty to be preserved and all perversities and sins avoided, nor would they have the commandments of the Church disdained for such ends Therefore he admonished her to cease from pronouncing such blasphemies, from rashly attributing such thoughts to God and His saints, and from maintaining them as lawful

V Many doctors and notable ecclesiastics have considered and examined with diligence the statements of the said Jeanne concerning her revelations and apparitions, and in view of the manifest falsehoods regarding the crown brought to Charles, and the coming of the angels, which she had invented, falsehoods and imaginations which have been recognized as such, both by those who afterwards were of our party and by others, in view also of her statements touching the kisses and embraces she gave to St Catherine and St Margaret, who, if she were believed, came to her every day, and even many times daily with no special intention or apparent manifestation, when there was no reason why they should come so frequently, and no precedent of

saints revealing themselves in such miraculous apparitions ; considering that she said she knew nothing of their limbs or any other details of their person, except their head, which does not accord with such frequent visions, in view also of many commands she declares they gave her, such as to wear man's dress, and to make such answers as she did in the trial, commands not in accord with God and His saints and which cannot be allowed to have emanated from them ; in view finally of numerous other points which the doctors and learned men have well weighed in this matter : they see and recognize that such revelations and apparitions were not sent from God as she boasts. And then she was shown how dangerous in the extreme it was to believe audaciously that one is fit to receive such apparitions and revelations, for she lied in respect of things in the province of God, falsely prophesying and telling of things to come, which power God had not granted her, but she discovered it in the imaginations of her heart ; and from it nothing can ensue but the seduction of the people, the springing up of new sects and many other ills inclining to the overthrow of the Church and the Catholic people. And how grave and dangerous it is to search curiously into the things passing our understanding, to put faith in what is new without consulting the opinion of the Church and its prelates , and even to invent new and unaccustomed things, for devils are wont to insinuate themselves into this kind of oddity, either by occult instigation or by visible apparitions in which they transform themselves into angels of light, and beneath an appearance of piety or some other good they lead one on to pernicious pacts, plunge one into error, as is permitted by God to punish the presumption of those who allow themselves to be carried away by such things. Therefore he admonished her to renounce these vain imaginations, to cease propagating such falsehoods, and to return to the way of truth

VI. These revelations so invented had been as it

were the root which had induced her to so many other crimes, and so, usurping the office of God, she had not hesitated to announce and affirm future and contingent events, the presence of hidden objects, such as a sword buried in the ground, and further she had boasted of knowing with certainty that some people were loved by God, and for her own part she knew she would receive forgiveness for the sin she had committed by hurling herself from the tower of Beaurevoir which was nothing but divination, presumption and rashness. She said also that she had adored these novel things which appeared to her, although she had concerning them no sufficient proof for her to believe that they were good spirits, that she had not taken the counsel of priest or any other ecclesiastic on this point, but presumed too much upon herself, in a matter wherein the danger of idolatry is ever imminent she had rashly believed where she should not have given the faintest credence, even if there were a sort of reality in these apparitions (which nevertheless to our mind are false). Moreover, she dared to say that she believed these apparitions to be St Catherine and St Margaret and angels as firmly as she believed in the Catholic faith, wherein she showed a rash credulity and appeared to indicate that there is no more or stronger reason to believe in the Christian faith and its articles, which the Church has handed down to us, than in certain apparitions of a new and unaccustomed kind. In this she had no judgment or consultation of the Church. further, Christ and His saints teach that it is not meet to give faith lightly to such apparitions, and she was told to consider these things carefully.

Whilst the archdeacon was explaining all this to Jeanne in French, according to the text of the memorandum, she answered as follows

And first, concerning the first and second articles of this memorandum, she said "As I have answered you before, so I will answer you now"

And when she had been told of the nature of the Church Militant, and had been admonished to believe and hold the article *Unam Sanctam*, and that she must submit to the Church Militant according to the tenor of Article II of the memorial, she answered : " I believe indeed in the Church on earth ; but for my words and deeds, as I have already declared, I trust in and refer me to God." Then she said : " I believe that the Church Militant cannot err or fail ; but in respect of my deeds and words I submit them and refer in everything to God who caused me to do what I have done." She said she submitted to God her creator who had caused her to do those things, and referred herself to Him and to her own self concerning them.

Asked if she wished to say that she had no judge on earth and whether our Holy Father the Pope were not her judge, she answered : " I will not say anything more. I have a good master, Our Lord, to whom I refer everything, and to none other."

When she was told that if she would not believe in the Church and the article *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam* she would be a heretic, and would suffer the punishment of fire by the sentence of other judges, she answered . " I will say no more to you : and if I saw the fire, I should say all that I do now to you, and nothing more."

Asked whether if the General Council, or Our Holy Father the Pope, the cardinals and other ecclesiastics were present, she would submit and refer herself to the said General Council she answered : " You will get nothing further from me."

Asked if she would submit to Our Holy Father the Pope, she answered, " Take me to him, and I will reply to him," and would make no other answer.

In respect of what was said of her dress in Articles III and IV, she answered that as for her dress she would willingly take a long dress and a woman's hood and go to Church and receive the sacrament of the Eucharist,

as she had formerly said, provided that immediately after her return she might take it off and wear her present dress And when it was explained to her that she was in no need of wearing this dress, particularly in prison, she said 'When I have done what God sent me to do I will resume woman's dress'

Asked if she thought she was doing well to wear man's dress, she answered "I refer me to Our Lord"

Then when she was admonished and the contents of the fourth article were explained to her, she answered that she had blasphemed neither God nor His saints And admonished to discontinue the wearing of this dress and the belief that it was good to wear it, and advised to resume woman's dress, she said she would not do otherwise

Asked whether whenever St Catherine or St Margaret came to her she made the sign of the cross, she answered that sometimes she did, and sometimes she did not

Asked about what she had been told regarding her revelations in Article V of the memorandum, she answered that on that question she referred herself to her Judge, namely God She said her revelations came to her from God direct

Asked, concerning the sign given to her king, whether she would defer to the archbishop of Rheims, to the Sire de Boussac, to Charles de Bourbon, to the Sire de la Trémouille and to Étienne called La Hire, to whom or to some of whom she said she had shown the crown, since they were present when the angel brought it to him she calls her king and gave it to the archbishop, asked whether she would refer to others of her party writing under their seal of this matter, she answered

Give me a messenger and I will write to them about this trial" Otherwise she would not believe in or refer to them

Asked, with regard to the sixth article, about her presumption in prophesying of future and contingent

events, she answered : " I refer me to my Judge, that is to God, and to my earlier answers written in this book."

Asked whether if she were sent three or four clergy of her own party under a safe conduct she would refer herself to them concerning the apparitions and all that was contained in the trial, she replied that we should first let them come and then she would answer : otherwise she would not refer herself or submit to them in this trial.

Asked whether she would refer herself and submit to the church of Poitiers where she was examined, she answered : " Do you think you will catch me in that way and draw me to you so ? "

Then in conclusion she was abundantly admonished anew in general to submit to the Church under pain of being abandoned by the Church ; for if the Church abandoned her she would be in great peril of body and soul, her soul would be in danger of eternal fire and her body of temporal fire by the sentence of other judges. She answered . " You will not do as you say against me without evil overtaking you, in body and soul."

Asked to give at least one reason why she would not refer herself to the Church, she would make no other reply.

Whereupon many doctors and learned men of divers estates and faculties admonished and charitably guided her, exhorting her to submit to the Church Universal and Militant, to Our Holy Father the Pope, to the sacred General Council, and explaining to her the perils of body and soul to which she exposed herself by her refusal to submit her acts and sayings to the Church Militant. She answered as before

Finally we the said bishop told Jeanne to be sure to take into serious account the said admonitions, our counsel and charitable exhortations, and to change her mind She answered by the question : " How long will you give me to think it over ? " We told her that

she must think it over immediately and answer as she wished but as she made no further reply we left the place and the said Jeanne was taken back to her prison

Wednesday, May 9th She is threatened with torture

On Wednesday, May 9th of the same year, Jeanne was brought into the great tower of the castle of Rouen before us the said judges and in the presence of the reverend father, lord abbot of St Cormeille de Compiègne, of masters Jean de Chatillon and Guillaume Erart, doctors of sacred theology, of André Marguerie and Nicolas de Venderès, archdeacons of the church of Rouen, of William Haiton, bachelor of theology, Aubert Morel, licentiate in canon law, Nicolas Loiseleur, canon of the cathedral of Rouen, and master Jean Missieu

And Jeanne was required and admonished to speak the truth on many different points contained in her trial which she had denied or to which she had given false replies, whereas we possessed certain information, proofs, and vehement presumptions upon them. Many of the points were read and explained to her, and she was told that if she did not confess them truthfully she would be put to the torture, the instruments of which were shown to her all ready in the tower. There were also present by our instruction men ready to put her to the torture in order to restore her to the way and knowledge of truth, and by this means to procure the salvation of her body and soul which by her lying inventions she exposed to such grave perils

To which the said Jeanne answered in this manner

Truly if you were to tear me limb from limb and separate my soul from my body, I would not tell you anything more and if I did say anything, I should afterwards declare that you had compelled me to say it by force. Then she said that on Holy Cross Day last she received comfort from St Gabriel she firmly believes it was St Gabriel, she knew by her voices it was he. She said she asked counsel of her voices

whether she should submit to the Church since the clergy were pressing her hard to submit : her voices told her that if she desired Our Lord to aid her she must wait upon Him in all her doings. She said that Our Lord has always been the master of her doings, and the Enemy never had power over them. She asked her voices if she would be burned and they answered that she must wait upon God, and He would aid her.

When asked about the crown she said she had given to the archbishop of Rheims, and whether she would refer herself to him, she answered : " Send him here [and let me hear him speak] : and then I will answer you. He dare not deny what I have told you "

But seeing the hardness of her heart and her manner of answering, we the said judges, fearing that the torments of torture would be of little profit to her, decided to postpone their application until we had received more complete advice on the question.

Saturday, May 12th. Jeanne is not to be tortured

On Saturday following, May 12th, in our episcopal dwelling at Rouen, before us the said judges and in the presence of the venerable masters Raoul Roussel, treasurer, Nicolas de Venderès and André Marguerie, archdeacons and canons of Rouen ; Guillaume Érart, master of theology ; Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, Jean Le Doulx, and Aubert Morel, licentiates in canon law , Thomas de Courcelles, Nicolas Coupequesne, bachelors of sacred theology ; Nicolas Loiseleur and brother Ysambard de La Pierre.

We the said bishop recalled what had taken place on the previous Wednesday, and we asked the counsel of the assessors on what remained to be done, in particular if it was expedient to put Jeanne to the torture

[And first the said Raoul Roussel stated that he thought it was not expedient, lest a trial so well conducted should be exposed to calumny.

Master Nicolas de Venderès said he thought it was not yet expedient to put her to the torture

Master André Marguerie said it was not yet expedient

Master Guillaume Érart said it was needless to put her to the torture, sufficient matter was possessed without it

Master Robert Le Barbier gave a similar opinion, but thought she should again be charitably admonished, once and for all, to submit to the Church. If she would not, then in God's name the proceedings should continue

Master Denis Gastinel said it was not expedient

Master Aubert Morel said he thought it expedient to put her to the torture in order to discover the truth of her lies

Master Thomas de Courcelles said he thought it wise to torture her. She ought also to be examined whether she would submit to the judgment of the Church

Master Nicolas Couppequesne said it is not expedient to put her to the torture, but she should, once more, be charitably admonished of the necessity of submitting to the decision of the Church

Master Jean Le Doulx, similarly

Brother Ysambard de La Pierre, similarly, but for the last time she should be admonished to submit to the Church Militant

Master Nicolas Loiseleur said he thought it good for the health of her soul to put her to the torture nevertheless he deferred to the earlier opinions

Master William Haiton, who came later, was of the opinion that there was no need for torture

Master Jean Le Maître, Vice-Inquisitor, said she should once more be examined on whether she believed she should submit to the Church Militant]

When these opinions had been heard and the answers which Jeanne had made on the previous Wednesday considered, in view of her disposition and will and of the circumstances, we concluded that it was neither

necessary nor expedient to submit her to the torture, and that we should proceed further in the matter.

Saturday, May 19th. The deliberations of the University of Paris are read, and the doctors give their opinions

On Saturday following, May 19th, before us the said judges in the chapel of the archiepiscopal manor of Rouen, where we were constituted tribunal, there appeared the venerable lords and masters Gilles, abbot of Fécamp, Guillaume, abbot of Mortemer, doctors of theology, Nicolas, abbot of Jumièges, Guillaume, abbot of Cormeilles, doctors of canon law, and the abbot of Préaux, the priors of St. Lô and of Longueville, Jean de Nibat, Jacques Guesdon, Jean Fouchier, Maurice du Quesnay, Jean Le Fèvre, Guillaume Le Boucher, Pierre Houdenc, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Jean Beaupère, Pierre Maurice, Nicolas Midi, doctors of theology; William Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Thomas de Courcelles, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, Raoul Le Sauvage, Jean Pigache, bachelors of sacred theology; Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law; Robert Le Barbier, Denis Gastinel, licentiates in canon law, André Marguerie, in civil law; Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Pinchon, in canon law; Jean Alespée, Gilles Deschamps, Nicolas Caval, in civil law, Jean Bruillot, licentiate in canon law; and Nicolas Loiseleur, canons of Rouen; Jean Le Doulx, Guillaume de Livet, Pierre Carel, Geoffroy du Crotay, Richard des Saulx, Bureau de Cormeilles, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, Laurent du Busc, Jean Colombel, Raoul Anguy, Guérould Poustel, licentiates in either canon or civil law.

In their presence we the said bishop explained how we had recently received a considerable number of the deliberations and opinions of notable doctors and masters upon the statements and confessions of the said Jeanne, and that from these resolutions we might have proceeded to conclude the judgment of the case, for they were

assuredly sufficient Nevertheless, to show our honour and reverence for our mother the University of Paris, and to obtain a clearer and more detailed elucidation of the matter, to the great peace of our conscience and the edification of all, we had judged it wise to transmit the said statements to our mother the University, and in particular to the Faculties of Theology and Decrees, and to ask the advice of the learned masters of the University, in particular those of these two Faculties The University, and in particular these two Faculties, burning with no ordinary zeal for the faith, gave us their diligent, mature and solemn counsel upon each of the statements, and addressed them to us in the form of a Public Instrument Which deliberations contained in the said instrument we ordered to be read aloud, word for word, clearly and publicly, and all the said doctors and masters heard them And after they had heard the reading of these deliberations of the University and the two Faculties, the said masters gave and expounded to us their opinions, in conformity with those of the said Faculties and University, in addition to the opinions they had already formulated, upon the manner of procedure which we ought henceforth to adopt We have written below the tenor of these deliberations and of the letters of the University

First follows the tenor of the letters addressed by the University to Our Lord the King

To the most excellent, high and mighty prince, the King of France and England, our most feared and sovereign lord Most excellent prince, our most feared and sovereign lord and father, your royal excellence ought in all things carefully endeavour to keep entire the honour, reverence and glory of the divine Majesty and of His Holy Catholic faith, by the extirpation of errors, false doctrines and all other offences hostile thereto In the continuance of this your highness will in all things have effective aid, succour and prosperity through the grace of the Most

High, and receive large increase of your high renown. To this end your most noble highness with God's grace began a most excellent work concerning our holy faith, namely the legal proceedings against this woman known as *The Maid*, against her scandals, errors and crimes, which are manifest in this entire realm, and the form and manner of which we have repeatedly written to you. With the matter and form of this trial we are acquainted by letters we have received, from the account supplied in your name in our general assembly by our agents the very honourable and most reverend masters Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, masters of theology ; who have brought and given us answers on other points with which they were entrusted. In truth when we had heard and well considered this account, it appeared to us that in this woman's trial extreme gravity and a holy and just procedure had been observed, which must be pleasing to all men. Therefore we give most humble thanks, first to the sovereign Majesty, then to your most high nobility, with a humble and loyal affection ; and finally to all those who from reverence of God have given their pains, labour and energies to this matter, for the good of our holy faith. But further, most feared and sovereign lord, according to the pleasure of your instructions and demands in letters and through these reverend masters, after many assemblies as well as great and mature deliberations among ourselves, we return to your excellence our counsel, conclusions and deliberations on the points, statements and articles which were transmitted and explained to us ; and we are always prepared to employ ourselves whole-heartedly in matters so directly concerning our faith, as our profession directly enjoins, and as we have at all times shown to the best of our ability. If anything further remained to be said or expounded by us, these honourable and reverend masters, who now return to your highness and who were present at our deliberations, will be able to set forth, expound and declare all that pertains thereto in accordance with

our intention May it please your magnificence to give faith to all they shall say in our name and receive them with especial recommendation for in truth they have shown great diligence in the said matters from pure and holy affection, unsparing of their efforts, their persons and their faculties, and careless of the great and threatening dangers particularly on the roads, and indeed through their wisdom, their ordered and discreet prudence this matter has been and shall be conducted to its end, if it please God, with wisdom, holiness and reason Finally we humbly beseech your excellent highness to bring this matter as soon and diligently as possible to its conclusion, for in truth the length and delays are perilous, and a great and notable reparation is necessary to bring the people, so scandalized by this woman, back to a true and holy doctrine and belief To the entire exaltation and integrity of our faith and for the praise of the eternal God who may in His grace maintain your excellency in prosperity until you reach eternal glory Written at Paris in our solemn assembly, met at St Bernard, on May 14th, 1431 Your most humble daughter the University of Paris "

Signed HÉBERT

Then follows the tenor of the letters addressed by the University of Paris to Us the said bishop

To the reverend father and lord in Christ the bishop of Beauvais The diligent labour of pastoral vigilance is shown to be animated by an immense fervour of most singular charity, my lord and most reverend father, when a most firm righteousness never, in its stable and constant industry, out of pious concern for the public safety, ceases from work on behalf of our holy faith The virile and famous martial spirit of your most sincere fervour showed its true measure when thanks to your valiant and forceful probity this woman commonly known as *The Maid* was brought into the hands of your justice by the propitious grace of Christ, by her poison widely

discharged the most Christian flock of almost the entire western world seemed infected : the vigilant solicitude of your reverence which is ever at pains to perform the duties of a true pastor did not fail to oppose thereto a public obstacle. In our general assembly certain famous doctors of theology, our agents, masters Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine and Nicolas Midi elegantly explained to us the form and conduct of the procedures already begun against the grave offences of this perfidious woman, with certain propositions, articles, letters from our lord the king and from your reverence, credentials and demands. When we had heard their speeches in full we resolved to address our most active gratitude to your highness and reverence who has never displayed indifference when this celebrated work of exalting the divine name is in question, or the integrity and glory of the orthodox faith, and the salutary edification of the faithful people. We approved of this celebrated trial, and of its form, and considered it to be according to the holy canons and to emanate from the most eloquent and experienced minds. And out of respect for our lord the king and our ancient devotion to your reverence we granted all the requests which the said doctors presented to us verbally or in writing, since we desired with all our strength and sincere affection to please you, reverend father. On the principal question we took care to hold many most serious consultations and deliberations in which, after the matter had been frequently discussed with all liberty and candour, we decided to have drawn up in writing these deliberations and consultations at which in the end we had unanimously arrived : these the said doctors our agents who return to your reverence will faithfully show you. They will take care also to explain certain other things more fittingly explained at great length and which we more fully declare in our letters to our lord the king of which a copy is enclosed. May your reverence receive with especial recommendation these eminent doctors who have not spared their

energies who, heedless of perils and labours, have not ceased toiling at this matter of faith To the accomplishment of this most famous task which has not been vainly undertaken we will give our succour and perseverance to your reverence's tireless zeal until reason shall decide that the divine Majesty has been appeased by a reparation proportionate to the offence, that the truth of our orthodox faith remains stainless, and the iniquitous and scandalous demoralization of the people is past Then when the Prince of shepherds shall appear he will grant to the pastoral fervour of your reverence a crown of eternal glory Written at Paris in our general assembly solemnly held at St Bernard on May 13th, 1431 The Rector and the University of Paris "

Signed HÉBERT

Then follows the deliberation of the University of Paris

' In the name of the Lord, amen Be it known and patent to all by the tenor of this present public instrument that in the year of the Lord 1431, indiction nine, on the 19th [29th] day of April in the vacancy of the apostolic see our mother the University of Paris was assembled and called together solemnly at St Bernard in respect of two articles The first and principal of these articles was to hear the reading of letters and propositions from the most Christian prince our lord the king, from his council and the lord judges, regarding the proceedings in matter of faith against a certain woman of the name of Jeanne commonly called *The Maid*, and to deliberate thereupon, the second was ordinary, concerning supplications and complaints These articles were expounded by the venerable and prudent master Pierre de Gouda, master of arts, rector of the University and president of the assembly When the said letters had been opened and read, and their credentials explained by one of the ambassadors of our lord the king, a member of his council and one of the judges sent to the University, the twelve articles inserted below were

read : My lord the rector discovered, proposed and declared that the content of the articles just mentioned was important and difficult, and concerned the orthodox faith, the Christian religion and the holy laws. He said that the task of considering and qualifying these articles concerned especially the venerable Faculties of Theology and Decrees, according to their professions ; he added that the University could not deliberate and decide upon the judgment of these matters and articles without the aid of the said Faculties ; the decision and judgment of the Faculties would then be submitted to the University, together or separately After this explanation the rector opened the deliberation on each and every one of the things which had just been set forth in the general assembly of all the masters and doctors here present. Whereupon each Faculty or Nation retired and met separately in the place where it customarily assembled to consider the most difficult matters and tasks ; and each of them continued to hold sessions there. After the mature deliberations of the Faculties and Nations the private decisions of each were made public in accordance with custom and were reported in common. Finally the University through the offices of the lord rector and in conformity with the deliberations of the Faculties and Nations resolved to entrust the decisions of this matter and the qualifying of the said articles to the Faculties of Theology and Decrees, and their deliberations should be reported to the University

“ In the year and indiction aforesaid on the fourteenth day of March, during the vacancy of the apostolic see, the said mother the University of Paris was solemnly assembled at St Bernard to consider two articles. The chief one was to hear the reading of the deliberations of the venerable Faculties of Theology and Decrees on a matter of faith according to the commission of the University dated April [29th]. After the matter of this article was fully and gravely expounded by the office of the lord rector, the said lord required the Faculties

present at the assembly to make known and report their deliberations on this subject, and their judgment on the articles, in the presence of the University Whereupon the venerable Faculty of Theology through the medium of master Jean de Troies, then vice-dean of the Faculty, answered that on many frequent occasions each of the said Faculties of Theology and Decrees in whole or in special commissions had assembled to judge the matter and qualify the articles In the end they each after long and mature deliberation had doctrinally reached a decision according to the exact tenor of a certain memorandum which master Jean held in his hands In the presence of the University he first displayed and then read it in a clear and loud voice, with the articles already mentioned The tenor of these articles, judgments and qualifications contained in the said memorandum are given below word for word "

Here follow the articles concerning the words and deeds of Jeanne commonly known as the Maid

And firstly this woman says and affirms that in her thirteenth year or thereabouts, etc "

Here follow the deliberations and conclusions reached by the Holy Faculty of Theology in the University of Paris, in judgment of the articles already transcribed concerning the words and deeds of Jeanne commonly called the Maid the entire deliberations and conclusions of the said Faculty and all which concerns this matter, the Faculty submits to the judgment of Our Holy Father the Pope and the Holy Council General

I

And firstly regarding article the first, the Faculty declares doctrinally that in view of the end, manner and content of the revelations, the quality of her person, the place and other circumstances, these revelations are fictitious, pernicious and misleading lies, or that these

are superstitions, proceeding from evil or diabolical spirits, such as Belial, Satan and Behemoth."

II

"Regarding article the second, its content appears less the truth than a presumptuous, misleading, pernicious, feigned lie, hostile to the dignity of angels."

III

"Regarding article the third, there is no sufficient sign, and the said Jeanne believes lightly and affirms rashly. Moreover, in the comparison she made her belief is evil and she wanders from the faith."

IV

"Regarding article the fourth, its content is nothing but superstition, divination, presumptuous affirmation and vain boasting."

V

"Regarding article the fifth, the said woman is blasphemous towards God, contemptuous of God in His sacraments, unmindful of divine and sacred law and the ecclesiastical sanctions, evil thinking and erring in the faith, foolishly boastful, and must be suspected of idolatry, and of the execration of herself and her garments ; she has imitated the rites of the heathen."

VI

"Regarding article the sixth, the said woman is treacherous, cunning, cruel, athirst for the spilling of human blood, seditious, inciting to tyranny, and blasphemous of God in her commands and revelations."

VII

"Regarding article the seventh, the said woman is impious towards her parents, contemptuous of the com-

mandment to honour her father and mother, scandalous, blasphemous towards God , she wanders from the faith and has made rash and presumptuous promises ”

VIII

“ Regarding article the eighth, we observe a pusillanimity verging on despair and by interpretation on suicide , a rash and presumptuous assertion concerning the remission of a sin , and an erroneous opinion in the said woman concerning man’s free will ”

IX

“ Regarding article the ninth, there appears a rash and presumptuous assertion, a pernicious falsehood She contradicts herself in the preceding article, and holds evil opinions in matters of faith ”

X

“ Regarding article the tenth, we find rash and presumptuous affirmations, superstitious divination, blasphemy of St Catherine and St Margaret, transgression of the commandment to love her neighbour ”

XI

Regarding article the eleventh, this woman, supposing she has had the revelations and apparitions of which she boasts according to the circumstances of article one, is idolatrous, a caller up of evil spirits, a wanderer from the faith, and makes rash affirmations and unlawful oaths ”

XII

‘ Regarding article the twelfth, the said woman is schismatic, erroneous in her opinions of the unity and authority of the Church, apostate and still obstinately persists in her deviation from the faith ”

Here follow the deliberation and doctrinal judgment of the venerable Faculty of Decrees of the University of Paris upon the twelve articles, transcribed and annotated above, concerning the words and deeds of Jeanne commonly called the Maid : the Faculty submits these deliberations and judgments to the decision and judgment of the sovereign Pontiff of the apostolic Holy See and of the Holy Council General.

“ If this woman with a sane mind persisted in maintaining the propositions set forth in the twelve articles, and performed the things described therein, the opinion of the Faculty of Law, after a diligent examination, by way of counsel and doctrine, is in charitable speech :

I

“ Firstly, that this woman is schismatic, for schism is an unlawful separation, due to disobedience, from the unity of the Church, and that she separates herself from obedience to the Church Militant, as she has said, etc.”

II

“ That this woman deviates from the faith ; contradicts the article of the faith contained in the symbol : *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam* : and, as St. Jerome says, he who contradicts this article proves not only that he is ignorant, malicious and not catholic, but heretical also.”

III

“ That this woman is apostate, for the hair which God gave her for a veil she has had untimely cut off, and also, with the same design has rejected woman's dress and imitated the costume of men.”

IV

“ That this woman is a liar and witch when she says she is sent from God, speaks with angels and saints, and yet justifies herself by no miracle or special evidence of

the Scriptures When the Lord wished to send Moses into Egypt to the sons of Israel he gave them a sign so that they might believe he was sent from God he changed a rod into a serpent and a serpent into a rod Likewise, when John the Baptist began his mission he brought a special testimony from the Scriptures when he said *I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness Prepare ye the way of the Lord,* as Isaiah had foretold "

V

That this woman, in law and in presumption of law, deviates from the faith for in the first place when she is anathema by the authority of the canon law she remains so long in this condition, in the second place, by declaring that she preferred not to receive the body of Christ, not to confess herself at the time ordained of the Church, rather than assume woman's dress She is, moreover, vehemently suspected of heresy and should be diligently examined on the articles of the faith "

VI

" This woman sins also when she says she is as certain of being received into Paradise as if she were already partaker of that blessed glory, seeing that on this earthly journey no pilgrim knows if he is worthy of glory or of punishment, which the sovereign judge alone can tell Consequently if this woman being charitably exhorted and duly admonished by a competent judge, will not willingly return to the unity of the Catholic faith, publicly abjure her error to the good pleasure of this judge, and give fitting satisfaction, she must be abandoned to the discretion of the secular judge to receive the penalty proportionate to her crime

After these articles, decisions and qualifications were read, the lord rector clearly and publicly demanded of the venerable Faculties of Theology and Decrees if the deliberations and qualifications which had just been read from the book corresponded to the deliberations and

decrees of the said Faculties. Whereupon the Faculties separately answered, the Faculty of Theology through master Jean de Troies, the Faculty of Decrees through the venerable master Guérould Boissel, its dean, that these decisions and qualifications were exactly those which they had given and decreed. Then the lord rector reminded them and declared how the University had commissioned the Faculties of Theology and Decrees to issue these decisions and qualifications ; that the University, as had been reported, had undertaken to accept and esteem these decisions emanating from the said Faculties of Decrees and Theology as good, ratified and acceptable. When this was declared in this general form the lord rector opened the discussion of the particular points which had been set forth and declared to the general assembly of all the masters and doctors present. Then each Faculty or Nation retired from the assembly and met in the place where it customarily deliberated on the most difficult cases and matters ; where it ordinarily assembled to discuss such points and other difficult concerns of the University and held an habitual session. After a long and mature discussion by the Faculties and Nations, each deliberation was made and repeated in public, according to custom, and the University, through the person of the lord rector, concluded that it esteemed the decisions and qualifications of the Faculties of Theology and Decrees as good, ratified, and acceptable, and held them for its own. In witness of which the circumstance and venerable masters Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, and Nicolas Midi, professors of sacred theology, requested us to deliver and present to each of them one or more public instruments signed by the following notaries.

“ This was done at Paris in the place, year, indiction, day and month aforesaid, in the presence of the venerable and discreet lords and masters, namely, for the instrument of April 29th : Pierre de Dyerré, professor of sacred theology ; Guérould Boissel, doctor of decrees ; Henri Thiboust, master of arts and medicine ; Jean

Barrey, Gerolf de Holle, and Richard Abesseeur, master of arts, Jean Vacheret, principal beadle of the venerable Faculty of Theology, and Boémond de Lutrea, principal beadle of the [French] Nation, for the instrument of May 14th, there were present Jean Soquet, Jean Gravestein, professors of theology, the said Guérould Boissel, Simon de La Mare, master of arts and medicine, André Pelé, Guillaume Estocart, Jacques Nourisseur, Jean Trophard and Martin Berech, masters of arts, and a great number of doctors and masters of each Faculty, with the beadles Jean Vacheret and Boémond de Lutrea, witnesses specially called and summoned

So signed

"And I, Jean Bourrillet, called François, priest, master of arts, licentiate in decrees and bachelor of theology, notary public by imperial and apostolic authority, with the venerable master Michel Hébert, priest of the diocese of Rouen, master of arts, notary and secretary of our Mother the University of Paris by imperial and apostolic authority, I declare that I was present at all which was said, expounded, discussed, deliberated and resolved in the assemblies of the University. In witness whereof I have put my habitual seal to this present document, as I have been summoned and called to do, in testimony of its faith and truth"

J BOURRILLET

"And I, Michel Hébert, priest of the diocese of Rouen, master of arts, notary and secretary of the University of Paris by pontifical and imperial authority, having been present with master Jean Bourrillet at all which was said, set forth, and discussed in the University, as has been declared above, I certify I have seen and heard these things. Therefore I have put my habitual sign to this present document, written with my own hand, and signed below in witness of its faith and truth, as I have been summoned and called to do"

HÉBERT

Deliberation of the doctors and masters of Rouen who gave their opinion in conformity with the University of Paris

Then master Raoul Roussel, treasurer and canon of the cathedral of Rouen where he lived, doctor of canon and civil law, gave his opinion that the case had been notably and solemnly debated ; that it should be concluded and defined in the presence of the parties ; and unless Jeanne returned to the way of truth and salvation, she should be deemed a heretic. He adhered to the decision of the University of Paris.

Master Nicolas de Venderès, licentiate in canon law, archdeacon of Eu, canon of the church of Rouen, gave an opinion similar to master Raoul Roussel's, adding that one day would be sufficient to conclude, pronounce the sentence, and abandon Jeanne to the secular justice.

The reverend father in Christ, Gilles, lord abbot of Ste. Trinité de Fécamp, doctor of sacred theology, gave the following opinion : on a fixed day the Promoter should ask her if she wished to say anything more ; then she should be admonished. Afterwards if she would not retract and return to the way of truth, she should be considered a heretic, sentence must be pronounced and Jeanne given over to secular justice.

Master Jean de Châtillon, doctor of sacred theology, archdeacon of Évreux, declared that those who have not fully considered the matter are bound to accept the opinion of the University of Paris. For his own part he accepted it, and in respect of the rest agreed with the abbot of Fécamp.

The reverend father in Christ, Guillaume, lord abbot of Cormeilles, doctor of decrees, followed the University of Paris.

Master André Marguerie, licentiate in law and bachelor of decrees, archdeacon of Petit-Caux and canon of Rouen, in view of the admonitions addressed to Jeanne, adheres to the opinion of the University of Paris. Regarding the procedure, he said one day was sufficient to conclude and pronounce the sentence.

Comment les anglois amenerent la pucele a rouen/ & la firent mourir



JEANNE IS TAKEN AS A PRISONER TO ROUEN

Woodcut from the *Vieille de Charles VII* printed by Jeh. D. pre 1493

(Coatesy f. M. 31. 3 Sh. d. & W. d.)

Master Erard Emengart, doctor of sacred theology, thought Jeanne should be once more admonished, and if after this she did not return to the path of truth, he agreed to the opinion of the University of Paris

Master Guillaume Le Boucher, doctor of sacred theology, held to the opinion he had given with other doctors, masters and bachelors, on April 9th, he added that Jeanne should be once more admonished and be informed of the deliberation of the University of Paris

The lord Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard, doctor of sacred theology, gave a similar opinion

Master Jean Pinchon, licentiate in canon law, arch-deacon of Jouy and canon of Paris, adhered to the opinion of master Guillaume Le Boucher

Master Pasquier de Vaultx, doctor of decrees, canon of the churches of Paris and Rouen, accepted the opinion of the University of Paris

Master Jean Beaupère, doctor of sacred theology, canon of the churches of Rouen and Besançon, accepted the opinion of the University, and in respect of the subsequent procedure referred to us the judges

Master Denis Gastinel, licentiate in canon and civil law, canon of the church of Rouen, said that if Jeanne would not obey after being warned he followed the opinion of the University of Paris

Master Nicolas Midi, doctor of sacred theology, canon of the church of Rouen, thought that the trial could be concluded and sentence pronounced on the same day, for the rest, he held to the result of his deliberations on April 9th with the other doctors and bachelors

Master Maurice du Quesnay, doctor of sacred theology, thought Jeanne should once more be charitably admonished, and if she did not obey, he accepted the opinion of the University of Paris

Master Pierre Houdenc, doctor of sacred theology, declared that for the salvation of her body and soul Jeanne should be charitably admonished before the lord judges concluded, if, after these warnings she did not

return to the Church she would be obstinate and heretical. For the conclusion he referred to ourselves the judges.

Master Jean Le Fèvre, doctor of sacred theology, held to the opinion he gave recently with other doctors and masters on April 9th, and accepted the deliberation of the Faculty of Theology ; he added that Jeanne should be charitably admonished on a day chosen for that purpose.

The religious brother Martin Ladvenu held to the opinion of master Jean Le Fèvre.

The religious brother Thomas Amouret did likewise.

The venerable and discreet advocates of the archiepiscopal court of Rouen, licentiates in canon and civil law, or both, namely, master Guillaume de Livet, Pierre Carel, Guérould Poustel, Geoffroy du Crotay, Richard des Saulx, Bureau de Cormeilles, Jean Le Doulx, Aubert Morel, Jean Duchemin, Laurent du Busc, Jean Colombel, Raoul Anguy and Jean Le Tavernier, declared that if Jeanne would not obey after she had been admonished to return to the way of truth and salvation, nor submit to the Church, she should be proceeded against according to the deliberations of the Faculty of Decrees.

The reverend father in Christ the religious Guillaume, lord abbot of Mortemer, professor of sacred theology, declared that Jeanne should be once more charitably admonished ; if she would not obey the proceedings should be continued, and he accepted the deliberation of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris.

The religious master Jacques Guesdon, professor of sacred theology, gave an opinion similar to that of the lord abbot of Mortemer.

Master Jean Maugier, licentiate in canon law, canon of Rouen, thought that Jeanne should be once more charitably admonished and if she would not obey, the proceedings should be continued.

Master Nicolas Coupequesne, canon of the church of Rouen, bachelor of theology, accepted the opinion of the University of Paris.

Master Raoul Le Sauvage, bachelor of sacred theology,

adhered to the opinion he lately gave us in the tenor of the letter signed by his hand. He added that Jeanne should be admonished again, in private and in public, before the people. If she would not return to the way of truth and salvation, he referred to the judges for the subsequent procedure.

Master Pierre Minier, bachelor of theology, was of the same opinion as Master Raoul Le Sauvage.

Master Jean Pigache, bachelor of sacred theology, gave an opinion according to the deliberation of the University.

Master Richard de Grouchet, bachelor of sacred theology, considered that Jeanne should again be charitably admonished, and if after this warning she would not obey the Church she must be deemed a heretic.

The religious person brother Ysambard de La Pierre adhered to the opinion he gave with others on April 9th, adding that Jeanne should be charitably admonished, and that if she would not obey the Church after this warning he referred to us her judges for the method of the subsequent procedure.

Master Pierre Maurice, doctor of sacred theology, adhered to the opinion he gave with other doctors on April 9th, adding that on a certain fixed day Jeanne should be charitably admonished and be informed of the peril she incurred by refusing to obey and submit to the Church, if then she persisted in her disobedience the proceedings should be continued.

Master Thomas de Courcelles, bachelor of sacred theology, canon of the churches of Laon and Théroutanne, adhered to the decisions reached with other doctors on April 9th. On other points he was of the same opinion as the said Pierre Maurice, and added that if Jeanne refused to obey the Church after this warning she should be considered a heretic.

Master Nicolas Loiseleur, canon of the churches of Chartres and of Rouen, master of arts, gave an opinion similar to that of the said Thomas de Courcelles.

Master Jean Aleस्पée, licentiate in law, canon of the church of Rouen, considered that Jeanne must on a certain day be charitably admonished, and if she persisted in her disobedience her trial must be concluded and the sentence pronounced.

The religious master Bertrand du Chesne, doctor of law, superior of the deanery of Lihons-en-Santerre, of the Cluny order, held the opinion of the Faculty of Decrees in the University of Paris.

Master Guillaume Erart, doctor of theology, sacristan and canon of the church of Langres, followed the opinion of the chapter of the cathedral of Rouen and of the University of Paris.

Whereupon we the aforesaid judges, thanking the reverend fathers, lords and masters, declared that we should once more charitably admonish the said Jeanne to return to the way of truth, for the salvation of her body and soul, and that we should proceed further to the conclusion of the case and the setting of a day for pronouncing sentence according to their good deliberation and salutary counsel.

Wednesday, May 23rd Jeanne's faults are expounded to her by master Pierre Maurice. The trial is concluded

On the following Wednesday, May 23rd, the said Jeanne was led to a room near her prison in the castle of Rouen and into the presence of us her judges assembled in tribunal. There were also present the reverend fathers and lords, the lord bishops of Théroutanne and of Noyon, the lords and masters Jean de Châtillon, archdeacon of Évreux, Jean Beaupère, Nicolas Midi, Guillaume Erart, Pierre Maurice, doctors of sacred theology, André Marguerie, licentiate in law, and Nicolas de Venderès, licentiate in decrees, archdeacons and canons of the church of Rouen.

In the presence of the said Jeanne we caused to be explained certain points on which she had erred and strayed according to the deliberation of the Faculties

of Theology and Decrees of the University of Paris The faults, crimes and errors contained in each of these points according to the deliberation were explained to her and we warned her and caused her to be warned to abandon these shortcomings and errors, to correct and reform herself, to submit to the correction and decision of our Holy Mother the Church, as is declared at greater length in a memorandum transcribed below, which was expounded in French to Jeanne by master Pierre Maurice, canon of Rouen and a celebrated doctor of theology

Here follows the tenor of the memorandum

I

Firstly, Jeanne, you have said that from the age of thirteen years or thereabouts you have had revelations and apparitions of angels, of St Catherine and St Margaret, whom you have frequently seen with your bodily eyes, and that they have often spoken with you and told you many things set forth at length in your trial

On this point the clerks of the University of Paris and others have considered the manner and end of these revelations, the matter of the things revealed, and the quality of your person and having considered everything relevant they declare that it is all false, seductive, pernicious, that such revelations and apparitions are superstitions and proceed from evil and diabolical spirits

II

You have said that your king received a sign by which he knew that you were sent from God, that it was St Michael, in the company of a host of angels, some with crowns, others with wings, and St Catherine and St Margaret were among them, coming to you in the town and castle of Rouen They all mounted the stairs of the castle in your company up to the chamber

of your king, before whom the angel who bore the crown bowed. At another time you said this crown, which you call a sign, was given to the archbishop of Rheims, who presented it to your king, before many princes and lords whom you have named.

Regarding this article, the clergy say it is not probable, but rather a presumptuous, misleading and pernicious lie, an undertaking contrary and derogatory to the dignity of angels.

III

You have said that you recognized the angels and saints by the good counsel, comfort and doctrine they gave you ; by the fact that they told you their names and the saints greeted you ; moreover, that you believe it was St. Michael who appeared to you ; that their words and deeds are good ; all of which you believe as firmly as you hold the faith of Jesus Christ.

Regarding this article, the clergy say that the signs were not sufficient for the recognition of the angels and saints, that you believed lightly and affirmed rashly, that, moreover, in the comparison you make you deviate from the faith.

IV

You have said you are certain of future and contingent events, that you have known where things were hidden, that you recognized men you had never seen, through the voices of St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

Regarding this article, the clergy find superstition, divination, presumptuous assertions and vain boasting.

V

You have said that you wore and still wear man's dress at God's command and to His good pleasure, for you had instruction from God to wear this dress, and so you have put on a short tunic, jerkin, and hose with many points. You even wear your hair cut short above

the ears, without keeping about you anything to denote your sex, save what nature has given you And often you have in this apparel received the Sacrament of the Eucharist And although you have many times been admonished to put it off, you would not, saying that you would rather die than put off this dress, unless it were God's command, and that if you were still in this dress and with those of your own party, it would be for the great welfare of France You say also that nothing could persuade you to take an oath not to wear this dress and bear these arms, and for all this you plead divine command

Regarding such matters, the clergy declare that you blaspheme against God, despising Him and His sacraments, that you transgress divine law, Holy Scripture and the canons of the Church, that you think evil and err from the faith, that you are full of vain boasting, that you are given to idolatry and worship yourself and your clothes, according to the customs of the heathen

VI

You have often said that in your letters you have put these names JHESUS MARIA, and the sign of the cross, to warn those to whom you wrote not to do what was indicated in the letter In other letters you boasted that you would kill all those who did not obey you, and that by your blows would the favour of the Lord be seen Also you have often said that all your deeds were by revelation and according to divine command

In regard to such affirmations, the clergy declare you to be a traitor, perfidious, cruel, desiring human bloodshed, seditious, an instigator of tyranny, a blasphemer of God's commandments and revelations

VII

You have said that according to revelations vouchsafed you at the age of seventeen, you left your parents' house against their will, driving them almost mad You went

to Robert de Baudricourt, who, at your request, gave you a man's dress and a sword, also men-at-arms to take you to your king. And when you came to the king, you told him that his enemies should be driven away, you promised to bring him into a great kingdom, to make him victorious over his foes, and that for this God had sent you. These things you say you accomplished in obedience to God and according to revelation.

Regarding such things, the clergy declare that you have been irreverent to your father and mother, thereby disobeying God's commandment, that you have given occasion for scandal, that you have blasphemed ; that you have erred from the faith ; and that you have made a rash and presumptuous promise.

VIII

You have said that of your own will you hurled yourself from the tower of Beaurevoir, preferring to die rather than be delivered into the hands of the English and live after the destruction of Compiègne. And although St. Catherine and St. Margaret forbade you to leap, you could not restrain yourself. And in spite of the great sin you have committed in offending these saints, you knew by your voices that after your confession your sin was forgiven

This act the clergy declare you committed because of cowardice verging on despair and possibly suicide. In this matter you also uttered a rash and presumptuous statement in asserting that your sin is forgiven, and you err from the faith touching the doctrine of free will.

IX

You have said that St. Catherine and St. Margaret promised to lead you to Paradise provided that you preserved the virginity which you vowed and promised them, and that you are as well assured of it as if you had already entered into the glory of the Blessed. You believe you have not committed mortal sin, and it seems

to you that if you were in mortal sin the saints would not visit you daily as they do

Such an assertion the clergy declare to be a pernicious lie, presumptuous and rash, that it contains a contradiction of what you had previously said, and that finally your beliefs err from the true Christian faith

X

You have declared that you know well that God loves certain living persons better than you, and that you learned this by revelation from St Catherine and St Margaret, also that those saints speak French, not English, as they are not on the side of the English. And since you knew that your voices were for your king, you began to dislike the Burgundians

Such matters the clergy pronounce to be a rash and presumptuous assertion, a superstitious divination, a blasphemy uttered against St Catherine and St Margaret, and a transgression of the commandment to love our neighbours

XI

You declared that to those whom you call St Michael, St Catherine and St Margaret, you did reverence, bending the knee, taking off your cap, kissing the ground on which they trod, vowing to them your virginity that you believed in the instruction of these saints, whom you invoked, kissed and embraced, as soon as they appeared to you, without seeking counsel from your priest or from any other ecclesiastic. And, notwithstanding, you believe these voices came from God as firmly as you believe in the Christian religion and the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Moreover, you said that if any evil spirit should appear to you in the form of St Michael you would know such a spirit and distinguish him from the saint. And again you said, that of your own accord, you have sworn not to reveal the sign you gave to your king. And finally you added 'Save at God's command'

Now touching these matters, the clergy affirm that if you had the revelations and saw the apparitions of which you boast in such a manner as you say, then you are an idolatress, an invoker of demons, an apostate from the faith, a maker of rash statements, a swearer of an unlawful oath.

XII

And you have said that if the Church wished you to disobey the orders you say God gave you, nothing would induce you to do so ; that you know that all the deeds of which you have been accused in your trial were wrought according to the command of God and that it was impossible for you to do otherwise. Touching these deeds, you refuse to submit to the judgment of the Church on earth or of any living man, and will submit therein to God alone. And, moreover, you declared that this reply itself was not made of your own accord but by God's command ; in spite of the article of faith, *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam*, having been many times declared before you, and notwithstanding that it behoves all Christians to submit their deeds and sayings to the Church Militant especially all that concerns revelations and similar matters.

Wherefore the clergy declare you to be schismatic, an unbeliever in the unity and authority of the Church, apostate and obstinately erring from the faith.

Now when these assertions with the qualifications of the University of Paris had thus been related and explained to Jeanne she was finally admonished in French by the same doctor to think very carefully over her acts and sayings, especially in the light of the last article. He spoke to her thus :

“ Jeanne, dearest friend, it is now time, near the end of your trial to think well over all that has been said. Although you have four times already, by the lord bishop of Beauvais, by the lord vicar of the Inquisitor, by other doctors sent to you on their behalf, been most diligently admonished for the honour and reverence of God, for

the faith and law of Jesus Christ, for the tranquillity of their consciences, and the alleviation of the scandal you have caused, to the salvation of your body and soul, although you have been shown the perils to which you expose your body and soul if you do not reform yourself and your sayings and correct them by submitting your acts and your words to the Church, and by accepting her judgment, nevertheless up till now you have not wished to listen. Now although many of your judges would have been satisfied with the evidence collected against you, in their anxiety for the salvation of your body and soul they have submitted your sayings for examination to the University of Paris, the light of all knowledge and the extirpator of errors. When the lord judges received the deliberations of the University they decided that you should to this end be once more admonished, warned of your errors, scandals and other crimes, and that we should beg, exhort and advise you by the bowels of Our Lord Jesus Christ who suffered cruel death for the redemption of mankind, to correct your words and submit them to the judgment of the Church, as every loyal Christian is bound and obliged to do. Do not permit yourself to be separated from Our Lord Jesus Christ who created you to be a partaker in His glory, do not choose the way of eternal damnation with the enemies of God who daily endeavour to disturb men, counterfeiting often the likeness of Christ, His angels and His saints, who they profess and affirm themselves to be, as is shown more fully in the lives of the Fathers and in the Scriptures. Therefore if such apparitions have appeared to you, do not believe them more than that, put away the belief or imagination you had in such things, and believe rather in the words and opinions of the University of Paris and other doctors who being well acquainted with the law of God and the Holy Scriptures, have concluded that no faith should be given to such apparitions or in any extraordinary apparition or forbidden novelty which is not supported by

Holy Scripture or sign or miracle, none of which you have. You have believed in these apparitions lightly, instead of turning to God in devout prayer to grant you certainty ; and you have not consulted prelates or learned ecclesiastics to enlighten yourself : although, considering your condition and the simplicity of your knowledge, you ought to have done so. Take this example : suppose your king had appointed you to defend a fortress, forbidding you to let anyone enter. Would you not refuse to admit whoever claimed to come in his name but brought no letters or authentic sign ? Likewise Our Lord Jesus Christ, when He ascended into Heaven, committed the government of His Church to the apostle St. Peter and his successors, forbidding them to receive in the future those who claimed to come in His name but brought no other token than their own words. So you should not have put faith in those which you say came to you, nor ought we to believe in you, since God commands the contrary.

“ First, Jeanne, you should consider this : if when you were in your king’s domain, a soldier or other person born in his realm or fealty had arisen and said, ‘ I will not obey the king or submit to any of his officers,’ would you not have said this man should be condemned ? What shall you say of yourself, who, brought up in the faith of Christ by the sacrament of baptism, have become the daughter of the Church and the spouse of Christ, if you do not obey Christ’s officers, that is to say, the prelates of the Church ? What judgment shall you deliver upon yourself ? Cease, I pray you, from uttering these things if you love your Creator, your precious spouse and your salvation, obey the Church and submit to its judgment ; know that if you do not, if you persevere in this error, your soul will be condemned to eternal punishment and perpetual torture, and I do not doubt that your body will come to perdition. Let not human pride and empty shame, which perhaps constrain you, hold you back because you fear that if you do as I

advise you will lose the great honours which you have known. For the honour of God and the salvation of your body and soul must come first. you will lose all if you do not as I say, for you will separate yourself from the Church and from the faith you swore in the holy sacrament of baptism, you cut the authority of Our Lord from the Church which is nevertheless led, ruled and governed by His spirit and authority. For He said to the prelates of the Church 'He that heareth you heareth Me, he that despiseth you despiseth Me'. Therefore if you will not submit to the Church you separate yourself in fact, and if you will not submit to her you refuse to submit to God, and you err in respect of this article *Uram Sanctam Ecclesiam*. What the Church is, and her authority, has been sufficiently explained to you already in former admonitions.

"Therefore, in view of all these things, on behalf of your judges the lord bishop of Beauvais and the lord vicar of the Inquisitor, I admonish, beg and exhort you by the pity you have for the passion of your Creator, by the love you bear for the salvation of your body and soul, correct and amend these errors, return to the way of truth, by obedience to the Church and submission in all things to her judgment and decision. By so doing you will save your soul and redeem, as I hope, your body from death, but if you do not, if you persist, know that your soul will be overwhelmed in damnation and I fear the destruction of your body. From these ills may Our Lord preserve you!"

After Jeanne had been admonished in this manner and had heard these exhortations she replied thereto in this way "As for my words and deeds, which I declared in the trial, I refer to them and will maintain them."

Asked if she thinks she is not bound to submit her words and deeds to the Church Militant or anyone other than God, she answered "I will maintain that manner of speech which I always said and held in the trial."

She said that if she were condemned and she saw the fire and the faggots alight and the executioner ready to kindle the fire, and she herself were in it, she would say nothing else and would maintain until death what she said in the trial.

Then we her judges asked the Promoter and Jeanne whether they had anything further to say. They answered that they had not. Then we proceeded to conclude the proceedings according to the formula of a certain schedule which we the said bishop held in our hands, and of which the tenor follows :

“We, competent judges in this trial, as we esteem and declare ourselves in so far as it is necessary, according to your refusal to say anything further, WE DECLARE THE TRIAL ENDED, and, this conclusion pronounced, we assign to-morrow as the day on which you shall hear us give justice and pronounce sentence, which shall afterwards be carried out and proceeded with according to law and reason. In the presence of the witnesses brother Ysambard de La Pierre, master Mathieu le Bateur, priests, and Louis Orsel, clerk, of the dioceses of Rouen, London and Noyon.”

*Thursday, May 24th The public sermon. Jeanne recants
The mitigated sentence is pronounced*

On Thursday after Whitsuntide, May 24th of the same year, we the said judges repaired in the morning to a public place, in the cemetery of the abbey of Saint-Ouen at Rouen, where the said Jeanne was present before us on a scaffold or platform. First we had a solemn sermon pronounced by master Guillaume Erart, a distinguished doctor of sacred theology, for the salutary admonition of the said Jeanne and of the great multitude of people present. We had with us . the very reverend father in Christ Henry by divine permission priest of St Eusebius and cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, commonly called cardinal of England, the reverend fathers in Christ the bishops of Théroutanne, of Noyon

and Norwich, my lord abbots of Ste Trinité de Fécamp, of St Ouen of Rouen, of Jumieges, of Bec-Hellouin, of Cormeilles, of St Michel au-peril-de-la-mer, of Mortemer, of Préaulx, the priors of Longueville and of St Lô of Rouen, masters Jean de Châtillon, Jean Beaupère, Nicolas Midi, Maurice du Quesny, Guillaume Le Boucher, Jean Le Fèvre, Pierre Houdenc, Pierre Maurice, Jean Fouchier, doctors, William Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Thomas de Courcelles, Raoul Le Sauvage, Richard de Grouchet, Pierre Minier, Jean Pigache, bachelors of sacred theology, Raoul Roussel, doctor of canon and civil law, Jean Garin, doctor of canon law, Nicolas de Venderès, Jean Pinchon, Jean Le Doulx, Robert Le Barbier, licentiates in canon law, André Marguerie, Jean Alespée, licentiates in civil law, Aubert Morel, Jean Colombel, Jean Duchemin, licentiates in canon law, and many others

The said doctor began his sermon by taking for his text the word of God in the fifteenth chapter of St John

'A branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine' Then he solemnly explained that all Catholics must abide in the true vine of Our Holy Mother Church which Our Lord planted with His right hand he showed how this Jeanne had cut herself off from the unity of our Holy Mother Church by many errors and grave crimes, and how she had frequently scandalized the Christian people He admonished and exhorted her and the multitude of people by salutary doctrines

When the sermon was over he addressed Jeanne in these terms Behold my Lords your judges who have repeatedly summoned and required you to submit all your words and deeds to Our Holy Mother Church, showing and pointing out to you that in the opinion of the clergy many things are to be found in your words and deeds which it is good neither to affirm nor uphold'

To which Jeanne replied 'I will answer you Touching my submission to the Church, I have answered

them on this point. Let all that I have said and done be sent to Rome to our Holy Father the Pope to whom after God I refer myself. As for my words and deeds, they were done at God's command." She said that she charged no one with them, neither her king nor any other ; and if there were any fault it was hers and no other person's.

Asked whether she would revoke all her words and deeds which are disapproved of by the clergy, she answered : " I refer me to God and to our Holy Father the Pope."

Then she was told that this would not suffice, that it was not possible to seek Our Holy Father the Pope at such a distance : that the ordinaries were each in his own diocese competent judges. Therefore she must needs submit to Our Holy Mother Church, and hold as true all that the clergy and other authorities had said and decided concerning her words and deeds. Whereupon she was admonished by three admonitions.

Then, as this woman would say no more, we the said bishop began to read the final sentence. When we had already completed the greater part of the reading, Jeanne began to speak, and said she would hold all that the Church should ordain, all that her judges should say and decree, and would obey our ordinance and will in all things. She said repeatedly that inasmuch as the clergy had pronounced that her revelations and apparitions were not to be upheld or believed, she would not maintain them ; but would refer in all things to her judges and our Holy Mother Church.

Then in the presence of the aforementioned and before a great multitude of people and clergy, she made and pronounced her recantation and abjuration, according to the formula of a certain schedule written in French which was then read, which she uttered with her own lips and signed with her own hand. The tenor thereof follows,

Jeanne's Abjuration

"All those who have erred and been at fault in the Christian faith and have by God's grace returned to the light of truth and unity of Our Holy Mother Church, should vigilantly prevent the Enemy of Hell from driving them back and causing their relapse into error and damnation. Therefore, I, *Jeanne*, commonly called *The Maid*, a miserable sinner, recognizing the snares of error in which I was held, and being by God's grace returned to Our Holy Mother Church, in order to show that my return is made not feignedly but with a good heart and will, I confess that I have most grievously sinned in falsely pretending to have had revelations and apparitions from God, His angels, St Catherine and St Margaret, in seducing others, in believing foolishly and lightly, in making superstitious divinations, in blaspheming God and His Saints, in breaking the divine law, Holy Scripture, and the canon laws, in wearing a dissolute, ill-shaped and immodest dress against the decency of nature, and hair cropped round like a man's, against all the modesty of womankind, also in bearing arms most presumptuously, in cruelly desiring the shedding of human blood, in declaring that I did all these things by the command of God, His angels and the said saints, and that to do so was good and not to err, in being seditious and idolatrous, adoring and calling up evil spirits. I confess also that I have been schismatic and in many ways have erred from the path. These crimes and errors, I, being by God's grace returned to the way of truth through the holy doctrine and good counsel of yourself and the doctors and masters whom you sent me, unfeignedly and with a good heart abjure and recant, renouncing and cutting myself off from them all. Upon all the aforesaid things I submit to the correction, disposition, amendment and entire decision of Our Holy Mother Church and of your good justice. And I vow, swear

and promise to you, to my lord Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to Our Holy Father the Pope of Rome, his vicar and his successors, to you, my lords, to the lord bishop of Beauvais and the religious brother Jean Le Maître, vicar of the lord Inquisitor of the faith, my judges, that I will never through exhortation or other means return to the aforesaid errors, from which it has pleased God to deliver and remove me ; but will always dwell in the unity of Our Holy Mother Church and the obedience of our Holy Father the Pope of Rome. This I say, affirm and swear by God almighty and the holy Gospels. In sign whereof I have signed this schedule with my mark ”

Signed “ J^HANNE ✠ ”.

Here follows the tenor of this abjuration in Latin [an exactly similar document].

And lastly, after we the judges had received her recantation and abjuration as is set forth above, we the said bishop pronounced our definitive sentence in these terms :

Sentence after the Abjuration

“ In the name of the Lord, amen. All pastors of the Church who desire and endeavour to lead the Lord’s flock faithfully must, when the perfidious sower of errors laboriously attempts with great cunning to infect the flock of Christ with virulent poisons, assemble their whole strength in order to combat the assaults of the Evil one with greater vigilance and more urgent solicitude. This is particularly necessary in these dangerous times in which the words of the apostle announced that many false prophets would come into the world and introduce sects of perdition and error, which by their varied and foreign doctrines might seduce Christ’s faithful people, if our Holy Mother Church with the aid of healthy doctrine and canonical sanctions, did not struggle to overthrow these erroneous inventions. There-

fore before us, your competent judges, namely Pierre by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais and brother Jean Le Maître, vicar in this city and diocese of the notable master Jean Graverent Inquisitor of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France, especially appointed by him to officiate in this cause, you, Jeanne, commonly called *The Maid*, have been arraigned to account for many pernicious crimes and have been charged in a matter of faith. And having seen and examined with diligence the course of your trial and all that occurred therein, principally the answers, confessions and affirmations which you made, after having also considered the most notable decision of the masters of the Faculties of Theology and of Decrees in the University of Paris, in addition to that of the general assembly of the University, and of the prelates, doctors and men learned in theology and both canon and civil law who were met together in a great multitude in this town of Rouen and elsewhere for the discussion and judgment of your statements, words and deeds, having taken counsel and mature conference with those zealous of the Christian faith, and having seen and weighed all there is to see and weigh in this matter, all that we and any man of judgment and law could and should observe we, having the honour of the orthodox faith before our eyes, so that our judgment may seem to emanate from the face of Our Lord, we say, decree and pronounce that you have gravely sinned by falsely simulating revelations and apparitions, by seducing others, by lightly and rashly believing, by uttering superstitious prophecies, by blaspheming God and His saints, by prevaricating to the law, the Holy Scripture, and the canonical sanctions, by despising God in His sacraments, by fomenting seditions, by apostasy, by falling into the crime of heresy and erring on many points in the Catholic faith. But inasmuch as you have, after repeated charitable admonitions, by God's help through a long delay returned into the bosom of Our Holy Mother Church, and with

contite heart unfeignedly, as we would fain believe, have openly renounced your errors, which since they have lately been reprov'd in a public sermon, you have with your own lips publicly abjured along with all heresy : according to the form appointed by ecclesiastical sanctions we unbind you by these presents from the bonds of excommunication which enchained you, on condition that you return to the Church with a true heart and sincere faith, observing what is and shall be enjoined by us. But inasmuch as you have rashly sinned against God and the Holy Church, we finally and definitely condemn you for salutary penance to perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of sorrow and water of affliction, that you may weep for your faults and never henceforth commit anything to occasion weeping."

The afternoon of the same day, May 24th. Jeanne puts on woman's dress

In the afternoon of the same day we, brother Jean Le Maître, vicar aforementioned, accompanied by the noble lords and masters Nicolas Midi, Nicolas Loiseleur, Thomas de Courcelles, and brother Ysambard de La Pierre, and several others, repaired to the prison where Jeanne then was. We and our assessors explained to her how God had on this day been most merciful to her, and how the clergy had shown her great mercy by receiving her into the grace and pardon of our Holy Mother Church : how therefore it was right that she Jeanne should humbly submit to and obey the sentence and ordinance of the lord judges and ecclesiastics, and should altogether abandon her errors and her former inventions, never to return to them, how, if she did return to them, the Church would not receive her to clemency, and she would be wholly abandoned. Moreover, she was told that she must put off her male costume and take woman's dress, as the Church had commanded.

Jeanne answered that she would willingly wear woman's dress, and in all things obey and submit to the clergy. She was given woman's dress which she put on immediately, she had taken off the male costume she desired and allowed her hair, which had hitherto been cut short round the ears, to be shaved off and removed.

THE TRIAL FOR RELAPSE

Monday, May 28th

Jeanne resumes man's dress

On Monday following, the day after Holy Trinity Sunday, we the said judges repaired to Jeanne's prison to observe her state and disposition. We were accompanied by the lords and masters Nicolas de Venderès, William Haiton, Thomas de Courcelles, brother Ysambard de La Pierre, Jacques Le Camus, Nicolas Bertin, Julien Flosquet, and John Grey.

Now because the said Jeanne was wearing a man's dress, a short mantle, a hood, a doublet and other garments used by men (which at our order she had recently put off in favour of woman's dress), we questioned her to find out when and for what reason she had resumed man's dress and rejected woman's clothes. Jeanne said she had but recently resumed man's dress and rejected woman's clothes.

Asked why she had resumed it, and who had compelled her to wear it, she answered that she had taken it of her own will, under no compulsion, as she preferred man's to woman's dress.

She was told that she had promised and sworn not to wear man's dress again, and answered that she never meant to take such an oath.

Asked for what reason she had assumed male costume, she answered that it was more lawful and convenient for her to wear it, since she was among men, than to wear woman's dress. She said she had resumed it because the promises made to her had not been kept, which

were to permit her to go to Mass and receive her Saviour, and to take off her chains

Asked whether she had not abjured and sworn in particular not to resume this male costume, she answered that she would rather die than be in chains, but if she were allowed to go to Mass, if her chains were taken off and she were put in a gracious prison [and were given a woman as companion], she would be good and obey the Church

As we her judges had heard from certain people that she had not yet cut herself off from her illusions and pretended revelations, which she had previously renounced, we asked her whether she had not since Thursday heard the voices of St Catherine and St Margaret She answered yes

Asked what they told her, she answered that they told her God had sent her word through St Catherine and St Margaret of the great pity of this treason by which she consented to abjure and recant in order to save her life, that she had damned herself to save her life She said that before Thursday they told her what to do and say then, which she did Further her voices told her, when she was on the scaffold or platform before the people, to answer the preacher boldly The said Jeanne declared that he was a false preacher, and had accused her of many things she had not done She said that if she declared God had not sent her she would damn herself, for in truth she was sent from God She said that her voices had since told her that she had done a great evil in declaring that what she had done was wrong She said that what she had declared and recanted on Thursday was done only for fear of the fire

Asked if she believed her voices to be St Catherine and St Margaret, she answered yes, and they came from God

Asked to speak truthfully of the crown which is mentioned above, she replied In everything, I told you the truth about it in my trial, as well as I could'

When she was told that when she made her abjuration

on the scaffold or platform before the judges and the people, she had admitted that she had falsely boasted that her voices were St. Catherine and St. Margaret, she answered that she did not mean to do or say so.

She said she did not deny or intend to deny her apparitions, that is that they were St. Catherine and St. Margaret ; all that she said was from fear of the fire. She recanted nothing which was not against the truth. She said she would rather do penance once and for all, that is die, than endure any longer the suffering of her prison. She said that whatever they had made her deny she had never done anything against God or the faith : she did not understand what was in the formula of abjuration. She said she did not mean to revoke anything except at God's good pleasure. If the judges wished, she would once more wear woman's dress, but for the rest she would do no more.

After hearing these declarations we left her to proceed further according to law and reason.

Tuesday, May 29th

The next day, the Tuesday after Holy Trinity, May 29th, we the said judges assembled in the archiepiscopal chapel of Rouen the following doctors and persons learned in theology and both canon and civil law the reverend fathers in Christ the lord abbots of Ste. Trinité de Fécamp, of St. Ouen of Rouen, and of Mortemer, the lords and masters Pierre, prior of Longueville-Giffard, Jean de Châtillon, Erard Emengart, Guillaume Erart, Guillaume Le Boucher, Jean de Nibat, Jean le Fèvre, Jacques Guesdon, Pierre Maurice, doctors of sacred theology, Jean Garin and Pasquier de Vaulx, doctors of canon law, André Marguerie, Nicolas de Venderès, archdeacons of Rouen, William Haiton, Nicolas Coupequesne, Guillaume de Baudribosc, Richard de Grouchet, Thomas de Courcelles, bachelors of sacred theology ; Jean Pinchon, Jean Alespée, Denis Gastinel, Jean Maugier, Nicolas Caval, Nicolas

Loiseleur, Guillaume Desjardins, canons of the cathedral of Rouen, some masters, others licentiates, in canon or civil law or medicine, Jean Tiphaine, Guillaume de La Chambre, Guillaume de Livet, Geoffroy du Crotay, Jean Le Doulx, Jean Colombel, Aubert Morel, Pierre Carel, licentiates in canon or civil law or masters or licentiates in medicine, Martin Ladvenu, brother Ysambard de La Pierre, and master Guillaume du Désert, canons of the church of Rouen

In their presence we the said bishop set forth that since the last public session held in the same place on the eve of Whitsunday, we had according to their advice caused a public admonition to be addressed to Jeanne and certain points on which she was judged in the opinion of the University of Paris to have fallen short and erred, were explained to her. We exhorted her to reject them and to return to the way of truth. As she in no way acquiesced, and as neither she nor the Promoter had anything further to say, we pronounced the case concluded and ordered the parties to appear on the following Thursday to hear the sentence, as is declared above. Then we reminded them of what happened on Thursday, how the said Jeanne, after the solemn sermon and admonitions addressed to her, had recanted and abjured her errors, and with her own hand signed the recantation and abjuration as is more fully set forth above. And how on Thursday after dinner we and the vicar of the Inquisitor and assessors had charitably admonished her to persist in her good purpose and to keep herself from relapse. How, obeying the orders of the Church, Jeanne put off male costume and wore woman's dress. But that led on by the Devil she had once more before many witnesses declared that the voices and spirits which were wont to visit her had returned to her and told her many things. And that Jeanne had once more rejected woman's dress in favour of male costume. That when we were informed of this we visited and examined her

Then in the presence of the lords and masters above mentioned we caused to be read the last confessions and assertions of the said Jeanne, namely those which were made before us on the previous day, and we asked of those present their counsel and advice. They gave their opinions as follows :

Master Nicolas de Venderès, licentiate in canon law, archdeacon of Eu and canon of the cathedral of Rouen, considered that Jeanne should be held a heretic ; when the sentence had been pronounced she should be given over to the secular justice which should be prayed to act towards her with gentleness.

The reverend father in Christ Gilles, lord abbot of the monastery of Ste. Trinité de Fécamp, doctor of sacred theology, declared that Jeanne was relapsed. Nevertheless it would be well to read over to her the formula she had recently heard, to explain it and preach the word of God to her. After that the judges would have to declare her a heretic and abandon her to the secular justice, praying it to act towards her with gentleness.

Master Pierre Pinchon, licentiate in canon law, archdeacon of Jouy, canon of the churches of Paris and Rouen, considered that Jeanne was relapsed, and he referred to the masters of theology upon the subsequent procedure.

Master Guillaume Erard, doctor of sacred theology, sacristan and canon of the churches of Langres and of Laon, considered that this woman was relapsed, and therefore she should be abandoned to the secular justice : concerning the remainder he held the lord abbot of Fécamp's opinion.

Master Robert Ghillebert, doctor of sacred theology, dean of the chapel of our lord the king, gave an opinion following that of Guillaume Erart.

The reverend father in Christ the lord abbot of the monastery of St. Ouen of Rouen held to the opinion of the lord abbot of Fécamp.

Master Jean de Chatillon, doctor of theology and canon of the church of Evreux, gave a similar opinion

Master Guillaume Le Boucher, doctor of sacred theology, declared this woman was relapsed and should be condemned as a heretic. Upon the remainder he referred to the decision of the lord abbot of Fécamp

The reverend father Pierre, lord prior of Longueville-Giffard, doctor of sacred theology, declared that if after the period of the Passion this woman confessed this point contained in the formula, he accorded with the judgment of the lord abbot of Fécamp

Master William Haiton, bachelor of sacred theology, considered that in view of the articles which had been read this woman was relapsed and should be condemned as a heretic. upon the remainder he referred to the decision of the lord abbot of Fécamp

Master André Marguerie, licentiate in civil law and bachelor of canon law, archdeacon of Petit-Caux and canon of Rouen, master Jean Alespée, licentiate in civil law, canon of Rouen, and master Jean Garin, doctor of decrees and canon of the church of Rouen, gave opinions in accordance with that of the lord abbot of Fécamp

Master Denis Gastinel, licentiate in both canon and civil law, canon of the churches of Paris and Rouen, declared that this woman was a relapsed heretic, and should be abandoned to the secular authority, with no prayer for mercy

Master Pasquier de Vaulx, doctor of decrees, canon of the churches of Paris and Rouen, held to the opinion of the lord abbot of Fécamp, with no prayer for mercy

Master Pierre Houdenc, doctor of sacred theology, declared that in his estimation and in view of the decisions and ways of this woman, she had always been a heretic, and was in fact relapsed, therefore she should be abandoned to the arms of the secular justice according to the decision of the lord abbot of Fécamp

Master Jean de Nibat, doctor of sacred theology,

considered that this woman was relapsed and impenitent, and should be esteemed a heretic. This is the opinion of the abbot of Fécamp so frequently mentioned.

Master Jean Le Fèvre, doctor of sacred theology, declared this woman to be obstinate, contumacious, disobedient ; and upon the rest he referred to the decision of the lord abbot of Fécamp.

The reverend father in Christ Guillaume, lord abbot of Mortemer, doctor of sacred theology, held to the opinion of the lord abbot of Fécamp.

Master Jacques Guesdon, doctor of theology, accorded with the opinion of the said abbot of Fécamp.

Master Nicolas Coupequesne, bachelor of sacred theology, canon of the cathedral of Rouen, accorded with the opinion of the said lord abbot of Fécamp.

Master Guillaume du Désert, canon of the church of Rouen, gave an opinion in agreement with the lord abbot of Fécamp.

Master Pierre Maurice, doctor of sacred theology, canon of Rouen, considered that this woman should be esteemed and judged relapsed , he adhered to the decision of the lord abbot of Fécamp.

Master Guillaume de Baudribosc, bachelor of sacred theology ; master Nicolas Caval, licentiate in civil law ; master Nicolas Loiseleur, master of arts ; master Guillaume Desjardins, doctor of medicine and canon of the church of Rouen, adhered to the opinion of the lord abbot of Fécamp.

Master Jean Tiphaine, doctor of medicine ; master Guillaume de Livet, licentiate in civil law , master Geofroy du Crotay and master Pierre Carel, licentiates in civil law, gave opinions following the decision of the lord abbot of Fécamp.

Master Jean Le Doulx, licentiate in canon and civil law ; master Jean Colombel, licentiate in canon law ; master Aubert Morel, licentiate in canon law ; brother Martin Ladvenu, of the order of Preaching brothers ; master Richard de Grouchet, bachelor of theology ;

master Jean Pigache, bachelor of theology, and master Guillaume de La Chambre, licentiate in medicine, gave opinions in accordance with that of the said abbot of Fecamp

Master Thomas de Courcelles, bachelor of theology, canon of the churches of Therouanne and of Laon, and brother Ysambard de La Pierre, of the order of Preaching brothers, gave opinions in conformity with the decision of the lord abbot of Fecamp who has so frequently been mentioned. They added that this woman should be once more charitably admonished for the salvation of her soul, and be told that she had no further hope in the life of this world

Master Jean Maugier, licentiate in canon law, canon of the church of Rouen, followed the opinion of the lord abbot of Fecamp

Finally, when we had heard the opinions of them all we thanked them and concluded that the said Jeanne should then be proceeded against as relapsed, according to law and reason

Wednesday the last day of May (30th) and the last day of this trial

On the following day, Wednesday, the last day of May, Jeanne was summoned before us to hear the sentence of law pronounced by the Usher appointed to this case, and contained at greater length in the tenor of our letters and the relation of the said Usher. Here follows the tenor of the letters

Tenor of the summons

'Pierre by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais and Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the distinguished doctor, master Jean Graverent, appointed by the apostolic Holy See Inquisitor of the Faith and of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France, to all public priests, rectors of churches established in this town of Rouen or elsewhere in this diocese, to each and everyone, according

to this present summons, greeting in Our Lord. For certain causes and reasons more extensively set forth elsewhere, a certain woman commonly called *Jeanne the Maid*, relapsed into many errors against the orthodox faith, after a public abjuration of those errors before the face of the Church, has fallen into them once more, as is and has been duly and sufficiently proven by her statements and assertions and otherwise. Therefore we expressly command and enjoin each one of you as he shall be required, without waiting for or excusing yourself because of another, to summon the said Jeanne to appear in person before Us at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning in the Old Market Place of Rouen, in order to hear Us declare her relapsed, excommunicate, and heretic, with the intimation customary in such cases. Given in the chapel of the archiepiscopal manor of Rouen, on Tuesday, May 29th, in the year of Our Lord, 1431 "

Signed: G. MANCHON. G. BOISGUILLAUME.

Then follows the tenor of the Usher's letter in respect of the preceding summons

" To the reverend father and lord in Christ the lord Pierre by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais and to brother Jean Le Maistre, vicar of the renowned doctor, master Jean Graverent, appointed by the apostolic Holy See Inquisitor of the faith and of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France, your humble Jean Massieu, priest, dean of the Christendom of Rouen, with all due reverence, obedience and respect. I inform your reverend paternities that in virtue of your mandate addressed to me, to which these present letters are annexed, I have summoned in person this woman commonly called *The Maid* to appear before you this Wednesday after Holy Trinity at eight o'clock in the morning, at the Old Market of Rouen, according to the form and tenor of your mandate and my instructions from you. Which things, done by me, I signify to your reverend pater-

nities by these present letters signed with my seal
Given in the year of Our Lord, 1431, on this Wednesday
at seven o'clock in the morning

Final sentence pronounced before the people

Afterwards towards nine o'clock in the morning of the same day we the said judges repaired to the Old Market of Rouen, near the church of St Sauveur, in the presence of and assisted by the reverend fathers in Christ the lord bishops of Thérouranne and of Noyon, masters Jean de Chatillon, André Marguerie, Nicolas de Venderès, Raoul Roussel, Denis Gistinel, Guillaume Le Boucher, Jean Alespée, Pierre Houdenc, William Haiton, the prior of Longueville, Pierre Maurice and many other lords, masters and clergy The said Jeanne was led before us in view of a great multitude of people assembled in this place, she was placed upon a scaffold or platform For her salutary admonition and the edification of the people a solemn sermon was delivered by the distinguished doctor of theology, master Nicolas Midi He took as his text the words of the Apostle in the twelfth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, "Si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur alia membra Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it"

When this sermon was over we once more admonished Jeanne to look to the salvation of her soul, to reflect on her misdeeds and to repent and show true contrition for them We exhorted her to believe the counsel of the clergy and notable persons who instructed and taught her things concerning her salvation, and especially of the two venerable Preaching brothers who were then standing near her, and whom we had appointed to instruct her continually and zealously to address to her salutary admonitions and profitable counsels Finally we the bishop and vicar aforesaid, having regard to what has gone before, in which it is manifest that this woman had in her obstinate rashness never truly aban-

done her errors and abominable crimes ; but rather that she had shown herself infinitely more damnable by the diabolical malice of her obstinacy in the false simulation of contrition, penitence and correction, and by the perjury of God's holy name and the blasphemy of His saints : that she had by such means declared herself obstinate, incorrigible, a heretic, relapsed in heresy, altogether unworthy of grace and of the communion which in our earlier sentence we had mercifully offered her. In view of all the things to be considered in this matter, and after mature deliberation and counsel with many learned persons, we proceeded to the final sentence in these terms :

“ In the name of the Lord, amen. As often as the poisonous virus of heresy obstinately attaches it self to a member of the Church and transforms him into a limb of Satan, most diligent care must be taken to prevent the foul contagion of this pernicious leprosy from spreading to other parts of the mystic body of Christ. The decrees of the holy Fathers have laid down that hardened heretics must be separated from the midst of the just, rather than permit such pernicious vipers to lodge in the bosom of Our Holy Mother Church, to the great peril of the rest. Therefore, we, Pierre by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais and brother Jean Le Maître, vicar of the renowned doctor Jean Graverent, the Inquisitor of Heretical Error and especially appointed by him in this case, both competent judges in this trial, have declared by a just judgment that you, Jeanne, commonly called *The Maid*, have fallen into divers errors and crimes of schism, idolatry, invocation of demons and many other misdeeds. Nevertheless, since the Church never closes her bosom to the wanderer who returns, esteeming that with a pure spirit and unfeigned faith you had cut yourself off from these errors and crimes because on a certain day you renounced them, swore in public, vowed and promised never to return to the said errors or heresy under any influence or in

any manner whatever , but rather to remain indissolubly in the unity of the Catholic Church and the communion of the Roman pontiff, as is proven at greater length in the formula signed by your own hand Since subsequently, after this abjuration of your errors the author of schism and heresy has arisen in your heart which he has seduced and since you are fallen again—O, sorrow !—into these errors and crimes as the dog returns to his vomit, as it is sufficiently and manifestly clear from your willing confessions and statements, we have concluded in most celebrated decisions that the denial of your previous inventions and errors was merely verbal *Therefore* we declare that you are fallen again into your former errors and under the sentence of excommunication which you originally incurred we decree that you are a relapsed heretic , and by this sentence which we deliver in writing and pronounce from this tribunal, we denounce you as a rotten member, which, so that you shall not infect the other members of Christ, must be cast out of the unity of the Church, cut off from her body, and given over to the secular power we cast you off, separate and abandon you, praying this same secular power on this side of death and the mutilation of your limbs, to moderate its judgment towards you, and if true signs of repentance appear in you to permit the sacrament of penance to be administered to you "

*The sentence of which the greater part was read before
Jeanne's abjuration*

In the name of the Lord, amen All pastors of the Church who desire and endeavour to lead the Lord's flock faithfully must, when the perfidious sower of errors laboriously attempts with great cunning to infect the flock of Christ with virulent poisons, assemble their whole strength to combat the assaults of the Evil one with greater vigilance and more urgent solicitude This is particularly necessary in these dangerous times in

which the words of the apostle announced that many false prophets would come into the world and introduce sects of perdition and error which by their varied and foreign doctrines might seduce Christ's faithful people, if Our Holy Mother Church did not struggle to overthrow these erroneous inventions. Therefore before us your competent judges, namely Pierre by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais and brother Jean Le Maître, vicar in this city and diocese of the notable master Jean Graverent, Inquisitor of Heretical Error in the kingdom of France, and especially appointed by him to officiate in this cause, you, Jeanne, commonly called *The Maid*, have been arraigned to account for many pernicious crimes and have been charged in a matter of the faith. And having seen and examined with diligence the course of your trial and all that occurred therein, principally the answers, confessions and affirmations which you made, after having also considered the most notable decision of the masters of the Faculties of Theology and Decrees in the University of Paris, in addition to that of the general assembly of the University, and of the prelates, doctors and men learned in canon and civil law and in theology who were met together in a great multitude in this town of Rouen and elsewhere for the discussion and judgment of your statements, words and deeds, having taken counsel and mature conference with those zealots of the Christian faith, and having seen and weighed all there is to see and weigh in this matter, all that we and any man of judgment and law could and should observe : We, having Christ and the honour of the orthodox faith before our eyes, so that our judgment may seem to emanate from the face of Our Lord, have said and decreed that in the simulation of your revelations and apparitions you have been pernicious, seductive, presumptuous, of light belief, rash, superstitious, a witch, a blasphemer of God and His saints, a despiser of Him in His sacraments, a prevaricator of the divine teaching and the ecclesiastical sanctions,

sedition, cruel, apostate, schismatic, erring gravely in our faith, and that by these means you have rashly trespassed against God and the Holy Church. Moreover, although you have very often, not by Us only but also by certain learned expert masters and doctors full of zeal for the salvation of your soul, been duly and sufficiently admonished to amend and reform yourself, and to submit to the disposition, decision and correction of Holy Mother Church, you would not, and cared not to do so, and even in the hardness of your heart stubbornly and obstinately declared that you would not, and on many occasions expressly refused to submit to Our Holy Father the Pope and the holy General Council. *Therefore* we declare you of right excommunicate and heretic, being stubborn and obstinate in your crimes, excesses and errors, and we pronounce it meet to abandon you and do abandon you to the secular justice as a limb of Satan, infected with the leprosy of heresy, cut off from the Church, in order to prevent the infection of the other members of Christ, praying this same power on this side of death and the mutilation of your limbs to moderate its judgment towards you, and if true signs of penance appear in you to permit the sacrament of penance to be administered to you."

Attestations by the notaries appointed in this trial

I, Guillaume Colles, otherwise called Boisguillaume, priest of the diocese of Rouen, by apostolic authority sworn notary in the archiepiscopal court of Rouen and in this trial, I attest that the collation of this present trial has been duly made with the original minute of 111 leaves, and therefore I have signed this present copy of the proceedings with my seal at the bottom of each leaf. In witness whereof I have signed with my own hand, followed by the two other notaries "

BOISGUILLAUME

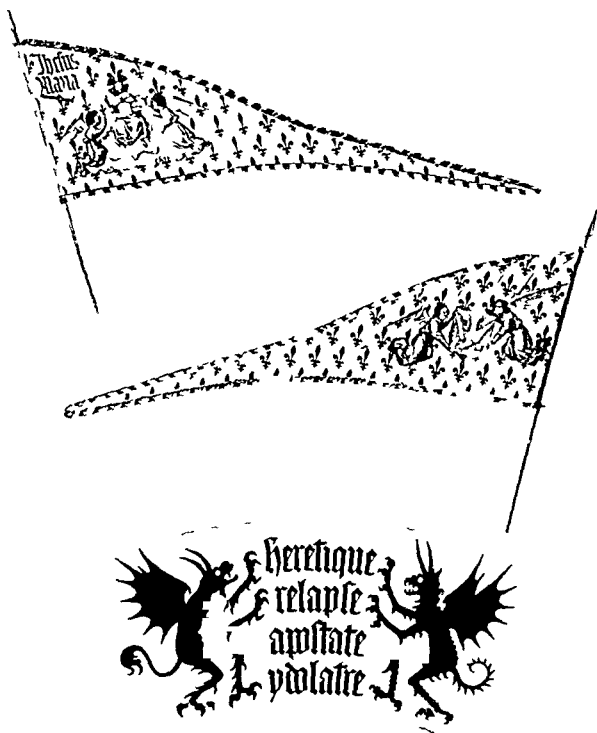
“And I, Guillaume Manchon, priest of the diocese of Rouen, apostolic notary by imperial and pontifical authority, sworn notary of the archiepiscopal court of Rouen, and, with others, in this process, I attest that I was present with the other notaries in the collation of the said trial and that the collation was duly made with the original register of the proceedings. Therefore with the other notaries I have subscribed the present trial with my own hand and have affixed thereto my sign manual, as I was required.”

G. MANCHON.

“And I, Nicolas Taquel, priest of the diocese of Rouen, notary public by apostolic authority, sworn notary of the archiepiscopal court of Rouen and called to a part of this said process, I attest that with the other notaries I saw and heard the collation of this trial with the original register of the proceedings and that the collation has been duly made. Therefore with the other notaries I have subscribed the present trial with my own hand and have affixed thereto my sign manual, as I was required.”

N. TAQUEL.

[Here are the seals of the Bishop of Beauvais and of the Inquisitor.]



RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE MAID'S STANDARD AND OF THE HERETICS CROWN
BY M. ADRIEN HARMAND

SUBSEQUENT DOCUMENTS

I

Information given after the execution on many things said by her at her end and in articulo mortis

On Thursday, June 7th, 1431, we the said judges received *ex officio* information upon certain words spoken by the late Jeanne before many trustworthy persons, whilst she was still in prison and before she was brought to judgment

And first the venerable and circumspect master Nicolas de Venderes, licentiate in canon law, archdeacon of Eu and canon of the church of Rouen, aged 52 or thereabouts, a witness produced, sworn, received and examined this day, declared upon oath that on Wednesday the last day of May, on the Eve of Corpus Christi last, the said Jeanne, being still in the prison where she was detained in the castle of Rouen, said that considering that the voices which came to her had promised her she should be delivered from prison, and she saw the contrary, she realized and knew that she had been and was deceived by them

This Jeanne said and confessed that she had seen with her own eyes and heard with her own ears the voices and apparitions mentioned in this case at this there were present we, the said judges, master Pierre Maurice, Thomas de Courcelles, Nicolas Loiseleur, brother Martin Ladvenu, master Jacques Le Camus, and several others

Brother Martin Ladvenu, priest of the order of Preaching brothers, aged about 33, witness produced, received, sworn and examined, said and declared on

oath that this Jeanne on the morning of the day on which sentence was delivered against her, said and confessed before she was brought to judgment, in the presence of masters Pierre Maurice, Nicolas Loiseleur, and the said Dominican brother Toutmouillé, that she knew and recognized that she had been deceived by the voices and apparitions which came to her ; for these voices promised her, Jeanne, that she should be delivered and set free from prison, and she clearly perceived the contrary.

Asked who induced her to say this, he said that he himself, master Pierre Maurice and master Nicolas Loiseleur exhorted her for the salvation of her soul, and they asked her if it were true that she had received these voices and apparitions. She answered that it was, and continued to say so up to the end : yet she did not precisely describe, at least as far as he understood, in what form they came to her, except as far as he could remember, that they came in great multitude and in the least dimension. Moreover, he then heard Jeanne say and confess that because the clergy held and believed that any spirits which might come to her came and proceeded from evil spirits, she also held and believed in this matter as the clergy did, and would no longer put faith in these spirits. And in his opinion Jeanne was then of sound mind.

He said that on the same day he heard Jeanne say and confess that although in her confessions and answers she had boasted that an angel from God had brought the crown to him she called her king, that she had accompanied the angel when he brought the crown, and many other things reported at greater length in the trial, nevertheless uncoerced and of her own free will she saw and confessed that in spite of all she had said and boasted on this subject, there was no angel who brought the crown ; that she, Jeanne, was the angel who had told and promised her king that she would have him crowned at Rheims if she were set to

work, that there had been no other crown sent from God, whatever she had said and affirmed in the course of her trial on the subject of the crown and the sign given to him she called her king

The venerable and discreet master Pierre Maurice, professor of sacred theology, canon of Rouen, aged about 38 years, witness produced, received, sworn and examined on this day, said and deposed that he visited her in the morning of the day when the sentence was delivered against this Jeanne, whilst she was still in prison, to exhort her to save her soul and whilst he was exhorting her and asking her about the angel who according to her had brought the crown to him she called her king, he heard her answer that she herself was this angel

Asked about the crown she promised him, and the host of angels who accompanied her, she answered that it was true that they appeared to her in the likeness of certain very minute things

And finally when he had asked her if this apparition were real, she answered that it was, and whether good or evil spirits, they really had appeared to her, saying in French, '*Soient bons, soient mauvais esprits, ilz me sont apparus*' She said also that she had heard her voices mostly at the hour of Compline, when the bells were rung, and also in the morning when the bells were rung He told her it appeared that they were evil spirits who had promised her deliverance and that she had been deceived, whereupon the said Jeanne answered that this was true, she had been deceived He heard her say that she referred to the Church to decide whether they were good or evil spirits, and in his opinion she was, when she said that, sound of mind and understanding

Brother Jean Toutmouillé, priest of the order of Preaching brothers, about 34 years of age, witness produced, received, sworn, and examined on Thursday, said and deposed that on the morning of the day when

the sentence was delivered against this Jeanne, to wit Wednesday, the Eve of the Feast of Corpus Christi, he, in the company of brother Martin Ladvenu of the same order, visited this Jeanne to exhort her to save her soul, and heard her say to Pierre Maurice who had preceded him there, that what she had said and confessed touching the crown was pure fiction, and she herself was the angel : this the said master Pierre took down in Latin.

Then she was questioned about the voices which came to her, and the apparitions. She answered that she really had heard voices, chiefly when the bells were being rung at Compline or Matins, although master Pierre told her that sometimes when men hear bells they imagine they hear and catch certain words

The said Jeanne said and confessed that she had had apparitions come to her, sometimes in a great multitude, sometimes in a small number, or in minute things. she did not otherwise describe their form and figure.

He said that on the same day, after our arrival in the room where she was detained, we the said bishop said to Jeanne in French, before the vicar of the lord Inquisitor, "Now, Jeanne, you have always told us that your voices promised you you would be delivered ; you now see how they have deceived you Tell us the truth now" Then Jeanne answered us, "Truly I see they have indeed deceived me." He did not hear her say anything more, except that at first, before we the judges had arrived in her prison, Jeanne was asked whether she believed that the said voices and apparitions proceeded from good or evil spirits : and she replied, "I do not know. I refer me to my Mother the Church," or "to you who are of the Church." In his opinion Jeanne was then of sound mind, and he heard Jeanne herself confess that she was of sound mind

Jacques Le Camus, priest, canon of Rheims, aged about 53 years, witness produced, sworn and examined on this day, said and deposed under oath that in the

morning of Wednesday, the Eve of Corpus Christi last, he accompanied us the said bishop to the room where Jeanne was detained in the castle of Rouen, and heard this Jeanne publicly confess in a voice audible to all those present that she Jeanne had seen the apparitions come to her and had heard their voices, promising that she should be delivered, and since she recognized that they had deceived her she believed they were not good voices or good things. A little while later she confessed her sins to brother Martin of the order of Preaching brothers, and after receiving the sacrament of confession and penance, when the said brother was about to administer the sacrament of the Eucharist to her, and held the consecrated host in his hands, he asked her,

“Do you believe this is the body of Christ?” And the said Jeanne answered, “Yes, and He alone can deliver me. I ask for it to be administered to me.” Then the same brother said to her, “Do you still believe in these voices?” She answered, “I believe in God alone, and will no longer put faith in these voices, because they have deceived me.”

Master Thomas de Courcelles, master of arts and bachelor of theology, aged about 30 years, witness produced, received, sworn and examined on this day, said and deposed under oath that on Wednesday, the Eve of Corpus Christi, he, being in our presence in the room where the said Jeanne was detained in the castle of Rouen, heard and understood us the said bishop to ask Jeanne if her voices had told her she would be delivered. And she answered that her voices had told her she would be delivered, and she should keep a good countenance. She added, he thought, sententiously, “I see indeed that I have been deceived.” And then we the said bishop told Jeanne she could then see that these voices were not good spirits, and did not come from God, for if they did, they would never have uttered false or lying things.

Master Nicolas Loiseleur, master of arts, canon of

the churches of Rouen and Chartres, aged about 40 years, witness produced, received, sworn, and examined on this day, said and deposed under oath that on the morning of Wednesday, the Eve of Corpus Christi last, he went with the venerable master Pierre Maurice, professor of sacred theology, to the prison where Jeanne, commonly known as *The Maid*, was confined, to exhort and admonish her for her salvation. Required to speak the truth concerning the angel who, according to her statements in the trial, had brought to him she called her king a most precious crown of very fine gold, and urged not to hide the truth inasmuch as she had nothing more to do but consider the salvation of her soul, the witness heard her say that it was she, Jeanne, who had announced to her king the crown mentioned in the trial, that she was the angel, and there had been no other angel but herself.

And then she was asked if she had really sent a crown to him she called her king. She replied that there was nothing beyond the promise of coronation which she herself made to him, assuring him he would be crowned.

Master Nicolas Loiseleur said also that often, before master Pierre, the two Preaching brothers, ourselves, and many others, he heard Jeanne say that she really had received revelations and apparitions of spirits ; that she had been deceived in these revelations, which she well recognized and perceived because although they had promised her deliverance from prison, she saw only the contrary , upon whether these spirits were good or evil she referred to the clergy, but she put and would put no more faith in them.

He said that he exhorted her to destroy the error she had sown among the people, to confess publicly that she had deceived herself and the people by putting faith in such revelations and exhorting the people to believe in them ; he exhorted her humbly to ask pardon for this. Jeanne answered that she would willingly do so, but she did not imagine that she would remember

when the proper time came, that is when she was in judgment before the people, and she asked her confessor to remind her of it and of other things tending to her salvation. From this and from many other signs he thought that Jeanne was of sound mind, for she showed great signs of contrition and penitence for the crimes she had committed. He heard her, in prison before many witnesses and in public afterwards, ask with great contrition of heart pardon of the English and Burgundians for having caused them to be slain, put to flight and, as she confessed, sorely afflicted.

II

Here follows the tenor of the letters which our lord the King addressed to the emperor, to the kings, dukes and other princes of all Christendom

“Your imperial highness, most serene king and our very dear brother, is famous for the devout affection and zeal which he exercises to the honour of the Catholic faith and the glory of Christ’s name. Your mighty efforts and strenuous labours are assiduously directed towards the protection of the faithful people and the overthrow of the malice of heretics, and your spirits exult with great joy whenever you learn that the holy faith has been exalted in your lands and the pestilence of error oppressed. Wherefore we are moved to write to your serene highness upon the just punishment which for her faults a certain lying prophetess who not long ago appeared in our kingdom of France recently suffered.

A certain woman whom the vulgar called *The Maid* had in fact arisen, who with an astonishing presumption, and contrary to natural decency, had adopted man’s dress, assumed military arms, dared to take part in the massacre of men in bloody encounters and appeared in divers battles. Her presumption grew until she boasted that she was sent from God to lead their martial struggles, and that St Michael, St Gabriel, a host of other angels, with St Catherine and St Margaret, appeared visibly

to her. So for almost a whole year she gradually seduced the people until the greater part turned away from the truth, put their trust in fables about the accomplishments of this superstitious woman which common report spread through almost the whole world. At last, taking compassion on His people whom He perceived to be stirred too easily by these dangerous and novel credulities, before receiving any proof that she was inspired by God, the divine mercy delivered this woman into our hands and power. Although she had inflicted many defeats upon our men and had brought great harm to our kingdoms, and it would therefore have been permissible for us to submit her forthwith to grave punishments, nevertheless not for one moment did we design to avenge our injury in that way or commit her to the secular authority for punishment. We were summoned by the bishop of the diocese in which she was captured to surrender her for judgment to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, for she was commonly accused of grave and scandalous crimes hostile to the orthodox faith and the Christian religion. We therefore, as befits a Christian king reverencing the ecclesiastical authority with filial affection, immediately delivered the said woman to the judgment of Our Holy Mother Church and the jurisdiction of the said bishop. And certainly he, with all solemnity and most honourable gravity, after securing the collaboration of the vicar of the Inquisitor of Heretical Error, conducted this famous trial for the honour of God and the salutary edification of the people. After this woman had been for many days examined by the said judges, they submitted her confessions and statements to the decision of the doctors and masters of the University of Paris and many other learned authorities, and according to their advice they declared this woman to be manifestly superstitious, idolatrous, a prophetess, a caller up of demons, blasphemous towards God and His saints, schismatic and greatly erring from the faith of Jesus Christ. Indeed, to purge this miserable sinner

of her pernicious crimes and to medicine her soul in the extremity of its frailty, she was for many days repeatedly admonished by charitable exhortations to reject all her errors, to walk in the straight path of truth and to keep herself from the grave dangers which threatened her body and soul. But the spirit of pride took hold of her mind so that her iron heart could by no means be softened by healthful teaching and salutary counsel. On the contrary, she obstinately boasted that she had done it all at the command of God and of the saints who visibly appeared to her, and, which was still worse, that she recognized no earthly judge, would submit to none except God Himself and the blessed ones of the triumphant land, and spurned the judgment of our Holy Father the Pope, of the Council General and of all the Church Militant. From which the said judges, seeing the hardness of her heart, summoned this woman before the people, and declared her errors to her in a public sermon, addressing final warnings to her. At last the judges' sentence of condemnation was begun, but before the reading of it was finished this woman altered her former way of speech and announced that she would utter better things. This her judges welcomed with joy, hoping to have redeemed her body and soul from perdition, and they lent willing ears to her speech. Then she submitted herself to the authority of the Church, loudly denied and abjured her errors and pernicious crimes, and signed with her own hand the formula of this recantation and abjuration. As our pious Mother Church rejoices when the sinner repents, and to the fold brings back the lamb wandering in the wilderness, so she confined her in prison for her salutary penance. But the fire of her pride which then seemed stifled, renewed by the breath of devils, suddenly burst out in poisonous flames, this wretched woman returned to her errors, to her false infamies which she lately had vomited away. Finally, as the ecclesiastical sanctions decree, to avoid the infection of the other members of

Christ, she was given up to the judgment of the secular power which decided that her body was to be burned. Seeing then the nearness of her latter end, this wretched woman openly acknowledged and fully confessed that the spirits which she claimed had visibly appeared to her were only evil and lying spirits, that her deliverance from prison had been falsely promised by the spirits, who she confessed had mocked and deceived her.

“Such was the issue, such her end, most serene king, which we have thought it wise to make known to you so that your royal highness may perfectly understand the thing itself, and inform others of this woman’s death. For there is one thing which we esteem altogether necessary for the faithful people, that by your serene highness and other princes both ecclesiastical and secular the catholic peoples may zealously be taught not to put their faith lightly in superstitions and erroneous frivolities, especially at a time such as we have just experienced, when we have in divers parts seen many false prophets and sowers of errors arise, who, armed with their impudent boldness against our Holy Mother Church, would doubtless infect the whole people of Christ if heavenly mercy and its faithful ministers did not endeavour with watchful care to repulse and punish the efforts of these evil men.

“May the Lord Jesus Christ keep your highness, most serene king, to protect his Church and the Christian religion, for many days in prosperity and the fulfilment of your desires.

“Given at Rouen, June 8th, 1431.”

III

Here follows the tenor of the letters addressed by our lord the King to the prelates of the Church, to the dukes, counts and other nobles and to the cities of his kingdom of France

“Reverend father in God, it is fairly common report everywhere how more than two years ago the woman who called herself Jeanne *the Maid*, a false prophetess,

did against divine law and the estate of her sex, dress in man's clothes, a thing abominable to God, and in that condition journeyed to our chief enemy, whom, with others of his party, clergy, nobles and populace, she frequently gave to understand that she was sent from God, and presumptuously boasted that she often had personal and visible communication with St Michael and a great host of angels and saints of Paradise, as well as with St Catherine and St Margaret By these falsehoods and the hope she held out of future victories, she withdrew the hearts of many men and women from the way of truth, and converted them to fables and lies She clad herself also in arms such as are worn by knights and squires, raised a standard, and, in excessive outrage, pride and presumption, asked to be given and allowed to bear the very noble and excellent arms of France, which she in fact obtained, and wore in many conflicts and assaults, as her brothers are said to have done they were a shield azure with two fleurs-de-lis or, and a sword between supporting a crown In such condition she went to the fields and led men of arms and passage in troops and great companies to commit and exercise inhuman cruelties by shedding human blood, causing popular seditions and tumults, inciting the people to perjury and pernicious rebellions, false and superstitious beliefs, by disturbing all true peace and renewing mortal wars, permitting herself to be worshipped and revered by many as a holy woman, and working many damnable things too long to describe, which have nevertheless been well known in many places to the great scandal of almost all Christendom But, taking compassion on His loyal people, the divine power did not leave them in danger or suffer them to dwell in the vain, perilous and novel credulities in which they so lightly believed, and in His great mercy and clemency permitted the said woman to be captured before Compiègne and delivered into our power and jurisdiction We were forthwith summoned by the

bishop of the diocese in which she had been taken to surrender her to him, her ecclesiastical judge, as accused and defamed of the crime of treason against God. As much out of reverence for our Holy Mother Church to whose ordinances we prefer our own acts and desires, as we ought, as for the honour and exaltation of our holy faith, we delivered the said Jeanne to him to be tried, for we did not wish the men and officers of our secular justice to avenge or punish her, as we might legally have done in view of the great harm, inconvenience, horrible murders, detestable cruelties and other unnumbered ills which she had wrought against our lordship and our loyal and obedient people. This bishop, in conjunction with the vicar of the Inquisitor of Errors and Heresies, having called together a great number of solemn masters and doctors of theology and canon law, with all solemnity and due gravity, opened the proceedings against this Jeanne. After she had been questioned for many days by him, and by the Inquisitor, her judges, they submitted her confessions and statements to the mature consideration of the said masters and doctors, and in a general manner to all the Faculties of our very dear and beloved daughter the University of Paris, to whom the confessions and statements were sent. Following these opinions and decisions the judges found this woman superstitious, a witch, idolatrous, a caller up of demons, blasphemous towards God and His saints, schismatic and greatly erring in the faith of Jesus Christ. And to reduce and restore her to the union and communion of our Holy Mother Church, to purge her of such horrible, detestable and pernicious crimes and sins, to cure and keep her soul from the eternal pain of damnation, she was often charitably and gently admonished at great length to put behind her and reject all her errors and humbly to return to the way and narrow path, or she put herself in great danger of body and soul. But the perilous spirit of pride and outrageous presumption

which ever attempts to prevent and obstruct the union and safety of loyal Christians, so controlled and held this Jeanne in its chains that no healthful teaching or counsel, no administration of gentle exhortation, could humble or soften the hardness and stubbornness of her heart. Nay, she often boasted that everything she had done was well done, by the command of God and the virgin saints who had visibly appeared to her and what is worse, she did and would recognize on earth God alone and the saints of Paradise, and refused and rejected the judgment of our Holy Father the Pope, of the Council General, and the Church Militant and Universal. Now the ecclesiastical judges, seeing the persistence of her hardness and obstinacy of spirit, had her brought before the clergy and the people assembled in great multitude, and in their presence her deeds, crimes and errors were solemnly and publicly preached, set forth and declared by a notable master of theology, to the exaltation of our said Christian faith, the extirpation of errors, the edification and correction of the Christian people. Once more she was charitably admonished to return to the union of Holy Church, and correct her faults and errors but she remained headstrong and stubborn. Wherefore the judges proceeded to pronounce against her the sentence, lawfully ordained for such cases. But before the sentence was altogether read she began, it appeared, to regain her courage, saying that she would return to Holy Church, which the judges and clergy willingly and joyfully heard, and favourably received, hoping by such means to redeem her body and soul from perdition and torment. Then she submitted herself to the ordinance of the Holy Church, recanted with her own lips and publicly abjured her errors and detestable crimes, signing with her own hand the formula of recantation and abjuration. As our Mother Church rejoices when the sinner repents, wishing to restore to the others the lamb wandering in the desert, she condemned this Jeanne to prison for her

salutary penance. But hardly had the fire of her pride seemed extinguished in her, when under the breath of the Enemy it burst out into poisonous flames, and soon the wretched woman fell back into the errors and false madness which she had formerly professed and since recanted and abjured. Therefore, as the judgments and institutions of the Church ordain, to prevent the contamination of the other members of Jesus Christ, she was again publicly admonished, and for her relapse into her wonted crimes and faults was abandoned to the secular justice which forthwith condemned her to be burned. When she saw her end approach she fully recognized and acknowledged that the spirits which she said had so often appeared to her were evil and false, that the promises they had made her were untrue, and so she confessed that she had been mocked and deceived by the spirits.

“Such was the issue of her works, such the end of this woman, with which we acquaint you by these presents, reverend father in God, so that you may be perfectly informed of this matter, and in such places of your diocese as you may think fit you may by public sermons or other means make these things known for the good and exaltation of our holy faith and the edification of the Christian people who have so long been deceived and abused by this woman’s works. Thus you may, as befits your dignity, assure that none among the people entrusted to you shall dare to put faith lightly in such errors and dangerous superstitions, especially at the present time when we see many false prophets and sowers of damnable errors arising against our Holy Mother Church in mad audacity and outrageous presumption, who might perhaps infect the Christian people with the virus of false belief, if Jesus Christ in His mercy did not oppose them, and you and His ministers following your profession did not diligently endeavour to repulse and punish the wills and mad audacity of these evil men.

“Given in our town of Rouen, June 28th, 1431.”

IV

Here follows the recantation of a certain friar who had spoken evil of the judges who tried this woman

“ Reverend father in Christ and lord, and you, religious person and master, vicar of the religious person Jean Graverent, renowned professor of sacred theology and Inquisitor of Heretical Error in the Kingdom of France, especially appointed by the authority of the Holy See, I, Pierre Bosquier, friar of the order of Preaching brothers, a miserable sinner and your subject, being desirous as a good and true catholic to obey in all things my Holy Mother the Church and you the judges in this case, with all humility and devotion, as I confess I am bound to do, as from information made at your command you have found me guilty of the following that I on the last day of May, on the eve of the Feast of Corpus Christi, I said that you and those who judged this woman Jeanne, commonly called *The Maid*, had done and did wrong, which words, seeing that this Jeanne had appeared before you in judgment and on trial of faith, are evil-sounding and appear to incline somewhat to heretical error, which words, so help me God, since it has been found that I uttered them, were said and uttered by me in thoughtlessness and inadvertence, and in drink. I confess that in this matter I have gravely sinned, and I ask pardon of our Holy Mother Church and of you, my judges and most feared lords, on bended knees and with clasped hands. I ask mercy of the Church, and most humbly submit to your correction, amendment and punishment, humbly praying that it may be without rigour’

V

Here follows the sentence of this friar

In the name of the lord, amen. We, Pierre by divine mercy bishop of Beauvais and brother Jean Le Maître, appointed in this city and diocese of Rouen

by the renowned doctor Jean Graverent, Inquisitor of Heretical Error, himself appointed by apostolic authority to that office in the kingdom of France, to be his deputy and vicar in all that concerns the following case, having seen the facts of the process in matter of faith against the religious person brother Pierre Bosquier, and having considered the information collected at our command upon the charges of which he is accused ; and seeing that it was and is perfectly manifest from the information that the accused said and uttered, in a certain place before few witnesses, not long after we had by our final sentence surrendered a certain woman, Jeanne, commonly called *The Maid*, to the secular justice as a heretic, that we did wrong, and that all who judged her also did wrong, by which he seemed to favour this Jeanne and grievously sinned and erred : seeing nevertheless that the said brother Pierre declared his desire, as a good and true catholic, to obey in all things with humility and devotion our Holy Mother Church and Us, his judges, has willingly submitted to our orders and correction, and has declared himself ready to obey our commands, we, preferring merciful to rigorous justice, and remembering the quality of his person and that these words were spoken in drink, absolve him from the sentences he has incurred thereby, keep him in the fellowship of the catholics, and restore him to good repute, if need be. Nevertheless we condemn him to imprisonment with bread and water until Easter next in the monastery of the Preaching brothers, in this final sentence pronounced by us in tribunal in these terms, subject to our mercy and moderation Given at Rouen, August 8th, 1431."

VI

Copy of the letters addressed by the University of Paris to our Holy Father the Pope, to the Emperor, and the College of Cardinals

"We believe, most Holy Father, that vigilant en-

deavours to prevent the contamination of the Holy Church by the poison of the errors of false prophets and evil men, are the more necessary since the end of the world appears to be at hand. For the doctor of the nations latterly announced these dangerous times to come, when men will no longer hold to sound beliefs for they will turn away from the truth, and be converted to fables. The gospel also said 'There will arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.' So when we see new prophets arise who boast of receiving revelations from God and the blessed of the triumphant land, when we see them announce to men the future and things passing the keenness of human thought, daring to accomplish new and unwonted acts, then it is fitting to our pastoral solicitude to set all our energies to prevent them from overwhelming the people, too eager to believe new things, by these strange doctrines, before the spirits which they claim to come from God have been confirmed. It would indeed be easy for these crafty and dangerous sowers of deceitful inventions to infect the Catholic people, if everyone, without the approbation and consent of our Holy Mother Church, were free to invent supernatural revelations at his own pleasure, and could usurp the authority of God, and His saints. Therefore, most Holy Father, the watchful diligence lately shown by the reverend father in Christ, the lord bishop of Beauvais and the vicar of the lord Inquisitor of Heretical Error, appointed by the apostolic Holy See to the kingdom of France, for the protection of the Christian religion, seems to us most commendable. For these have been at pains to examine carefully a certain woman, captured in the limits of the diocese of Beauvais, wearing the costume and armour of a man, accused judicially before them of falsely inventing divine revelations, of grave crimes against the orthodox faith and they showed the whole truth of her actions. And after

they had acquainted us with the course of the trial and asked us to give them our opinion on certain articles affirmed by her, so that it should not be said that silence has covered up that which was done for the exaltation of the orthodox faith, we resolved to inform your Highness of what we received. As we were instructed by the said lord judges, this woman, calling herself *Jeanne the Maid*, of her own accord, in her trial, confessed many points which, weighed by the diligent examination of many prelates, maturely considered by the doctors and other men learned in canon and civil law, submitted to the decision and judgment of our University, proved she should be held superstitious, a prophetess, a caller up of demons, idolatrous, blasphemous towards God and the Saints, schismatic and in every way erring in the faith of Jesus Christ. Full of affliction and sorrow for the soul of this miserable sinner caught in the pernicious snares of so many crimes, her judges, by frequent warnings and charitable exhortations, set all their efforts to draw her back from the path of her error and to effect her subjugation to the judgment of our Holy Mother Church. But the spirit of wickedness had so completely filled her heart that for a long time she rejected our salutary monitions with a hardened heart, refused to submit to any living man, of whatever dignity, or to the holy Council General, and recognized no other judge than God. At last it came to pass that the persevering labour of the said judges slightly diminished her great presumption : listening to their sound counsels, she denied and verbally abjured her errors, in the presence of a great multitude of people ; she subscribed to and signed with her own hand a formula of abjuration and recantation. But hardly had a few days passed, when this wretched woman fell back into her former foolishness, and adhered once more to the errors which she had denied. Therefore the said judges condemned her, in their final decree, as a relapsed heretic, and gave her over to the judgment of the secular power. Now,

when this woman learned that the destruction of her body was near, she confessed before all with many lamentations that she had been mocked and deceived by these spirits which she said had appeared visibly before her, and repenting *in articulo mortis*, she asked pardon of all and so quitted this life. Wherefore it was clearly recognized by all how dangerous it was, how fearful, to give too light credence to the modern inventions which have for some time past been scattered in this most Christian kingdom, not by this woman only, but by many others also, and all the faithful of the Christian religion must be warned by such a sad example not to act so hastily after their own desires, but to listen to the teachings of the Church and the instruction of the prelates rather than the fables of superstitious women. For if we are at last through our own faults arrived at the point where witches falsely prophesying in God's name but without His authority, are better received by the frivolous people than pastors and doctors of the Church to whom Christ formerly said, 'Go ye and teach the nations, the end is come, religion will perish, faith is in decay, the Church is trampled underfoot and the iniquity of Satan dominates the whole world. Which may Jesus Christ prevent, and under the happy direction of your Beatitude, keep His flock from stain and contamination."

For the College of Cardinals

Most reverend fathers, we have esteemed it good for the welfare of the faith and the Christian religion to declare to the Holy Father and Sovereign Pontiff what we have heard and known upon the condemnation of the scandals committed in this kingdom by a certain woman, and we wrote to His Holiness in these terms,

'We believe, most Holy Father, that vigilant endeavours, etc.' Since, reverend fathers, Our Lord has placed you at this sublime vantage-point of the Holy See to discover what is happening in the whole world, especially that

which concerns the integrity of the faith, we have considered that it was in no way proper for this matter to remain unknown to you, who are in fact the light of the world, from whom no semblance of truth must be hid, so that all loyal Christians may receive salutary instructions from you in matters of faith. May the Most High keep you in happiness to the salvation of His Holy Church ! ”

FINIS

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Edited by G G COULTON
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